A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF RUDOLF OTTO'S LITURGICAL THEOLOGY AND PRACTICE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter
1. RUDOLF OTTO'S PLACE IN THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

Part I: Introduction

Biographical Remarks........................ 1
R. O. as a Theologian....................... 2
The European Liturgical Movement: Roman Catholic............................. 7
The European Liturgical Movement: Protestant................................ 9
The German Lutheran Liturgical Revival.................................... 11
R. O. and the German Lutheran Liturgical Movement......................... 16

Part II: Otto's Liturgical Principles and Proposals

General Challenges.......................... 23

- Preaching............................... 27
- Education............................... 31
- Prayer.................................. 32
- Church/State Relationship............... 34

New Shape of Liturgical Life................ 36

- Simplicity and Diversity of Ritual....... 37
- Fidelity to the Structure of Christian Worship.................................. 40
  - Communal Prayer...................... 41
  - Vocal Prayer......................... 44
  - Contemplation and Silent Worship..... 47
- Proper Distribution of Roles............. 48
- Recovery of Structure of Lord's Supper.................................. 51
- Promotion of Liturgical Hours............ 54
- A Restructured Church Year............... 54
- Proper Place of Music in the Liturgy..... 56
- Evangelical Church Appointments.......... 60
- Gradual Introduction of Change in the Liturgy............................. 61

Chapter
2. RUDOLF OTTO'S LITURGICAL EXPERIMENTATION

Part I: Experimental Services of the Word

Sunday Services, Occasional Services and the Liturgical Hours compared........... 62
An Analysis of Individual Elements........... 66
    Proclamation of the Word................. 67
    Intermission/Announcements................ 71
    Service of Adoration..................... 72

Part II: Experimental Lord's Supper Services

Elaborate, Full and Simple compared.......... 76
An Analysis of Individual Elements........... 81

Part III: Liturgical Manuals Edited by Otto

Chorgebete für Kirche, Schule, und Hausandacht................................ 91
Liturgische Blätter für Prediger und Helfer................................ 96
Das Jahr der Kirche in Lesungen und Gebeten................................ 98
Eingangspsalmen für die Sonntage des Kirchenjahres............................ 111
Postille.................................. 112
Musical Supplement to *Zur Erneuerung und Ausgestaltung des Gottesdienstes*......... 114

Chapter
3. RUDOLF OTTO'S LITURGICAL THEOLOGY

The Risen Christ................................118
The Church..................................... 126
The History of Salvation....................... 134
The Sacrament of the Eucharist................. 142
Eschatology.................................... 162
Summary Outline................................ 179

Chapter
4. RUDOLF OTTO AS AN ECUMENTICAL LITURGIST

R. O's Ecumenical Interests.................... 183
    An Ecumenical Proposal for Portestants............ 186
    Is there a Universal Religion?.................... 188
    An Inter-Religious League for Mankind............. 192
An Introduction to the Theology of Odo Casel........... 195

Liturgy and Religious Experience: Casel.................. 204
Liturgy and Religious Experience: Otto................... 209
Liturgy and Religious Experience: Casel and Otto......... 217
Silence in the Liturgy: Casel............................ 218
Silence in the Liturgy: Otto............................. 227
Silence in the Liturgy: Casel and Otto................... 238
The Liturgical Mystery: Casel............................ 239

    The Content of the Mystery........................... 245
    How the Saving Acts of Christ are Rendered Present... 249
    Why Christ and His Saving Acts must be Present in the Sacraments................................. 250
    Commendable Points in Casel.......................... 251
    Negative Criticism of the Caselian Approach.......... 253
    After Casel.. 255

The Liturgical Mystery: Otto............................. 256
The Liturgical Mystery: Casel and Otto................... 269
R.O. and the Contemporary Roman Catholic Liturgical Movement..................................... 270

    Reform of the Liturgy................................ 271
    The Eucharist.. 273
    The Divine Office.................................... 276
    The Liturgical Year.................................. 276
    Sacred Music... 277
    Sacred Art and Sacred Furnishings.................... 278
    Summary Outline...................................... 278

Concluding Note to the Dissertation...................... 278

CHAPTER I

RUDOLF OTTO'S PLACE IN THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

The first part of this chapter deals with background material. After a few biographical remarks about Rudolf Otto, there is a brief evaluation of him as a theologian. Then there follows: (1) a consideration of the highlights of the European liturgical movements contemporaneous with Otto, both Roman Catholic and Protestant; (2) a description of the German Lutheran liturgical revival -- Otto's specific liturgical milieu; and finally, (3) a consideration of Otto's specific contribution to the German Lutheran liturgical movement.

Part I: Introduction

Biographical Remarks

Rudolf Otto, a German theologian, was born on September 25, 1869, in Peine, twenty miles Southeast of Hanover.[1] He was educated in Erlangen and Göttingen. In 1898 he received his licentiate in theology at Göttingen. At that time he became a privatdozent at Göttingen and taught there until 1914[2] Here his two colleagues, Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) and the Friesian scholar, Leonard Nelson, influenced Otto's own methodology. Otto went to Breslau in 1914; and in 1917 he transferred to the University of Marburg. He remained in Marburg until his death in March 7, 1937.[3]

Dr. Paula Schaefer, a retired philosophy professor of Wiesbaden-Sonnenberg, Germany and former student of Otto, writes of him that he was a legendary figure in Marburg. He not only taught the numinous, he also had something of the numinous about him.[4] Whenever he gave a lecture, it was as still as a church in the lecture hall. He spoke in highly cultivated German. When the bell rang signalling the end of the lecture, it took a few moments before the people broke the silence.[5]

Dr. Schaefer relates how in some sense Otto was a contradictory person.[6] For instance, whenever he passed the Gothic Church of St. Elizabeth in Marburg, he had the urge to lift his hat, but his Protestant inhibitions would not allow him. He was inclined toward liberal Protestantism despite his concern for the numinous.[7]

Otto never married.[8]

Rudolf Otto as a theologian[9]

Otto began as a Ritschlian. His concept of the autonomy of religion is based directly on Ritschl's (1822-1889) concept of the independent religious value-judgment. For his idea of the religious a priori, Otto is indebted to his contemporary, Troeltsch (1865-1923). In his theologizing, Otto expressed a "concern with philosophical inquiry preparatory to his effort to establish the religious a priori and by acknowledging the mystical tradition as a fruitful source of data bearing upon numinous experience."[10] If one were to isolate his main scholarly concern it would be the teleology of the holy as shown forth in the numinous.[11]

Many theological streams flowed into Otto, starting with Luther on whom he did his doctoral thesis: Die Anschauung vom heiligen Geiste bei Luther.[12] It was Luther that prompted his interest in the "sensus numinis." But it was Schleiermacher who gave Otto his initial theological stance by which he could inquire into this distinctive form of apprehension which conveyed the religious mode of truth.[13] Otto wrote an introduction to Schleiermacher's *On Religion: Speeches to its cultured despisers*,[14] a work he preferred to the latter's *The Christian Faith*.[15]

Otto rejected strict Darwinism, that is, the denial of all teleology in evolution, in his book, *Naturalistische und religiöse Weltansicht*.[16] Rather, for Otto religion claims that the world is conditioned and dependent, that there is a providence, that there is a side other than that which appears to us. These claims cannot be justified by reason. They are based on feeling and intuition. Thus, he felt that in order to understand the specifically religious dimension one must probe intuition and feeling.[17] In this he found helpful the philosophy of Jacob Friedrich Fries (1773-1843). He discussed Fries' contribution in his book, *Kantisch-Fries' sche Religionsphilosophie.*[18] Otto developed the Fries doctrine of *Ahnung* (a yearning that yields the feeling of truth). He maintained that it is feeling, ontologically considered, which is the mode of perception that apprehends not just subjective qualities, but also structural meanings and purposes. We have an immediate knowledge of reality which shows itself in "feelings of truth." These feelings can be brought to full consciousness as ideas.

Yet Otto did not base his position merely on Kant and Fries, both of whom he felt tended to elevate the rational and formal aspect of religion to universality. Otto's thinking tended to be more concrete. He wanted to take particular instances of the numinous seriously and for this reason he undertook the study of the history of religions.[19]

In 1917 Otto published his book, Das Heilige,[20] for which he became famous. In this work he attempted to make a clear distinction between numinous or religious feelings and other kinds of feelings which might be confused with them. Numinous feelings have two primary aspects - a feeling of dread and a feeling of fascination. Numinous feelings are (1) the source of the concept of the numinous - a concept of something which is both a value and an objective reality and (2) are cognitive, that is, immediately refer to a reality outside itself.[21] In the Idea of the Holy Otto emphasized the non-rational aspect of experience and developed the notion that the "holy" is a special category that goes beyond the notion of goodness in the moral or ethical sense.[22] Bernard Meland says, "that this was tantamount to announcing that religion as a numinous event eludes our human measure even as it participates in human forms."[23] Otto attempted to isolate the "overplus of meaning" encountered in numinous realities.[24]

While Otto as a theologian belonged to the Protestant liberal tradition, one finds here something of the post-liberal emphasis in his use of "creature-feeling," rather than the Schleiermacherian "feeling of absolute dependence" as expressing more adequately the objective aspect of the numinous presence. By qualifying the object of the numinous as mysterium tremendum, he is indicating a unique "wholly other" reality, a reality whose special character one can feel without being able to give it clear conceptual expression.[25] This emphasis lies behind Otto's definition of theology as "an attempted statement, in conceptual terms and by analogy to something that at bottom is incapable of explication by concepts."[26]

But the numinous does not produce awe only. It also draws. This fascination conveys the qualitative content of the numinous experience. So the Wholly Other both judges and draws men at the same time.[27] And mysticism is the most complete instance of the latter. Otto maintained that particularly gifted individuals have a special endowment of "divination" whereby they can recognize the holy in its appearances. For this reason he gave so much attention to the study of the mystics.[28] Yet, while Otto's temperament and theological orientation inclined him to the pursuit of mysticism, he did have a great concern for promoting a greater sensitivity and response to the numinous in Christian life. This is the reason for his interest in liturgical reform.[29]

As noted, Otto's preoccupation with numinous experience as a phenomenology of the holy[30] led him into the field of the history of religions.[31] He knew Sanskrit and traveled in India to observe Hinduism and other Indian religions in detail. His bibliography reveals that his translations of Hindu writings as well as his studies of Hindu writers make up a large part of his published work. He made a special study of the eleventh century Hindu theist, Ramanuja, of the Bhakti school. He compared Ramanuja's theology with Christianity in his book, _Die Gnadenreligion Indiens und das Christentum_.[32] Among his other works on Indian religion, he published several studies on the Bhagavad Gita.[33]

Otto's last major work is his _Reich Gottes und Menschensohn_.[34] It is a summation of his life long study applied to the Christian religion and to Jesus Christ in particular. Here he was concerned with the theme of eschatology in the New Testament. Otto gave to the eschatological dimension the meaning of the mysterious presence of ultimate reality operating in the immediate moment of time.[35] In this book he saw that ethics and eschatology are not to be disassociated. The mystery of the kingdom is not just an appeal to the future, but a new reality that in some sense has already come.

Rudolf Otto's work has had great influence, especially on those who deal in the phenomenology of religion and religious experience. One need but pick up the books of Mircea Eliade to see verification of that.[36] Bernard Meland maintains that Otto's influence lies in the fact that he was a transitional theologian.[37] He belonged to that small group of theologians who saw the limitations of liberal theology before the 1920's. Meland says of Otto's work:

> It succeeded in restoring to liberal theology a non-rational dimension sufficient to give it overtone and depth. The readiness with which this led to a liturgical renaissance in Protestantism is itself evidence of its re-creative force.[38]

Otto was able to restore to Protestant thinking enough apprehension of the holy to enable the liberals to come out of their rational-ethical wasteland. This allowed them to recognize such things as sin, judgment, and grace as belonging to a specific religious category without at the same time dispensing with the critical judgment of historical thinking. However, while Otto belonged to the liberal tradition, it would be wrong to identify him completely with liberalism as some have done.[39] At least one can say that his thought provided the imagery for a more critical liberalism.

Otto himself can be faulted with still being under the dominance of Kantian rational-ethical categories. The holy is an "overplus" but it does not transform rational/ethical activity.[40]

Otto continues to influence the theological scene.[41] Tillich has acknowledged his debt to him. Of Otto he has written:

> It is the experience of the "holy" which was given to me at that time (growing up in a Lutheran parish) as an indestructible good and as the foundation of all my religious and theological work. When I first read Rudolf Otto's Idea of the Holy, I understood it immediately in the light of these early experiences, and took it into my thinking as a constitutive element. It determined my method in the philosophy of religion, wherein I started with the experiences of the holy and advanced to the idea of God, and not the reverse way. Equally important existentially, as well as theologically, were the mystical, sacramental, and aesthetic implications of the idea of the holy, whereby the ethical and logical elements of religion were derived from the experience of the presence of the divine, and not conversely. This made Schleiermacher congenial to me, as he was to Otto, and induced both Otto and me to participate in movements for liturgical renewal and a revaluation of Christian and non-Christian mysticism.[42]

Many parallels between Otto and Tillich can be found.[43]

Speaking of Otto's influence, Bernard Meland concludes:

> In so far as a dimensional theology (Tillich) finds it necessary to draw upon the notion of the numinous for its imagery of depth and upon the reconception of the doctrine of eschatology in which the numinous informs the meaning of intimations of depth and newness in existence, Rudolf Otto's contribution to theological thinking will continue to have force and influence.[44]

Recently, process theologians have expressed some interest in Otto.[45]

The European Liturgical Movement (1900-30): Roman Catholic

The Roman Catholic European liturgical movement is usually considered to have been launched by Dom Prosper Gueranger (1837-75).[46] In his restoration of the Benedictine Order in France at the Abbey of Solesmes (1837), Gueranger attempted to create a community whose spiritual life was centered around the official prayer of the Church.[47]

The work of Gueranger at Solesmes spread across Europe through the Benedictine revival. This was especially true in Germany where the two

German priests, the Wolter Brothers, disciples of Gueranger, founded the Benedictine monastery at Beuron (1863). The Beuron congregation differed from Solesmes in that it was a more theological approach to the liturgy. The approach of Gueranger was more historical, archeological, and aesthetic. At times it could be characterized as being excessively romatic.

Solesmes gave birth to an English daughter at Farnborough and the Belgian abbey of Maredsous was founded from Beuron. Maredsous began the *Revue Bénédictine* and *Dictionnaire d 'archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie* (1903-53). The latter was edited by Dom Fernand Cabrol and Dom Henri Leclerq.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Pope Pius X gave new impetus to the reform of the liturgy by stressing its pastoral character. This second phase of the liturgical movement began with his *Motu Proprio* on sacred music (Nov.22, 1903). The restoration of Gregorian chant and the exhortation to more frequent communion are based on Pius' principle that the liturgy is the "primary and indispensable source of true Christian spirituality."[48]

In 1909 at the Belgian abbey, Mont César, in Louvain, a daughter-house of Beuron, another Benedictine, Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873-1960) began a parochial liturgical renewal that spread into most Catholic regions before the First World War.[49] Beauduin was concerned with reaching the masses of the people and unlike Gueranger did not try to return to the past dominated by an excessive concern for tradition. He looked to the future while possessing a great respect for tradition.[50] Dom Beauduin put into practice Pius X's ideas concerning the renewal of Gregorian chant and the active participation of the faithful in the liturgy.[51] In order to spread his ideas Beauduin published first a small people's missal in fascicules, then a review entitled, Les Questions liturgiques which was later changed to Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiales.[52]

After the First World War the German Catholic liturgical movement was promoted by Maria Laach, an abbey under the leadership of Dom Ildefons Herwegen (d. 1946).[53] Maria Laach's work reached a high point in the work of Dom Odo Casel (1886-1948). His work on the nature of the Christian mystery is discussed in chapter four of this thesis. While the work of Maria Laach was related to that of Beauduin's, it resembled the work of Beuron in emphasizing the scholarly. Beauduin was more pastoral.

Another man doing important pastoral work was Dr. Johannes Pinsk in Berlin. He was a close friend of Maria Laach. At the same time at Klosterneuberg in Austria, Canon Regular Pius Parsch (1884-1954) popularized the liturgical movement for German speaking people, especially by making scripture available to the laity.[54]

These are but some of the highlights of the European Roman Catholic liturgical movement in the first third of the twentieth century. No attempt has been made to be exhaustive.[55]

The European Liturgical Movement (1900-30): Protestant.[56]

The story of the liturgical revival in 19th century Anglicanism includes the influence of Romanticism with its preoccupation with the middle ages, the Oxford Movement, a more sacramental ecclesiology, and the Ritualistic Controversy.[57] The first third of the twentieth century in the movement was characterized by the various Prayer Book revisions. It began with the American revision of 1892 and was followed by revisions in the 1920's for England, Scotland, Canada, South Africa, and a 1928 revision for the United States. These revisions depended heavily on the liturgical scholarship of the 19th century. The revisions established the principle of diversity in Anglican worship.[58]

As in the case of Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism, the Lutheran liturgical movement began in the 19th century, especially with a renewed interest in the Kirchenordnungen of Reformation times. The most influential figure here was that of Wilhelm Loehe. In the 20th century, Rudolf Otto and Friedrich Heiler both engaged in extensive experimentation at Marburg.[59] Scholarly work was done by the scripture scholar, Hans Lietzmann, who produced monographs on early Christian liturgy, the most important being, Messe und Herrenmahl.[60] Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic[61] by Archbishop Yngve Brilioth of the Church of Sweden is especially worthy of note for its analysis of the eucharistic rite throughout history.[62]

Liturgical reform in the Calvinistic churches in Scotland began in the 19th century also with a revival of concern for the standards of worship as set forth in the neglected Westminster Directory.[63] In 1865 the Church Service Society was founded and published an Euchologion that was well received. In the 1920's the Church of Scotland was issuing new revisions of its traditional liturgies.[64] Evidence of a liturgical awakening in French Calvinism was noted in the work on worship, Le Culte,[65] by Robert Will, himself a Lutheran and professor of Protestant theology at the University of Strasbourg.[66]

In his work, Le Culte, Will distinguishes three aspects in the contemporary (to him) Protestant liturgical movements: (1) the tendency to reduce the antithesis between the subjective and objective in worship,

(2) the effort to overcome the contradiction between the religious attitude springing from personal religious experience and the use of objective phenomena as a medium for worship (especially true of the work of Heiler and Otto and the High Church movement), and (3) the recovery of interest in the social nature of public worship.[67]

The German Lutheran Liturgical Revival[68]

The three branches of German Protestantism: Lutheran, Reformed and United, experienced in the time of Otto's liturgical concerns (mostly in the twenties of this century) a liturgical revival of no small interest.[69] It was a post First World War movement. It was an attempt to discover new service types which would be expressive of the latest scientific thinking on the psychology of prayer, preaching, and the sacraments.[70]

The first significant effort of this movement was a recognition of the place of the congregation in worship. Frequently, the only part of the service that was allotted to the congregation was the "Amens" to the overly theological prayers of the minister. Even the Creed and the Lord's Prayer were said by the minister alone. Thus, the purpose of the movement was to arouse the person in the pew from his merely passive presence.[71]

The cry for active participation took two forms: (1) an emphasis on the corporate experience of the congregation - man cannot be saved by himself - a corporate mystical experience so much championed by Rudolf Otto;[72] and (2) a desire for new liturgical forms. Previously, the idea was that the form did not matter greatly since worship in spirit and truth was more important. But since the World War a change took place, especially from a psychological point of view, and cult became more important.

The second great effort of the movement was a turning from the previous subjectivism to a more objective view of worship. It was part of the more general concern with the objective otherness of God. This change of attitude has been attributed to some extent to the harrowing experiences of World War One.[73] Man was looking for a refuge from the agitations of life and he turned to a more objective kind of worship. Among the theologians there was a reaction against the pietism of the previous century, an aversion to such utter individualism.[74]

The German Lutheran liturgical movement was not a monolith. It was comprised of several different tendencies.[75] The three main schools of thought were those associated with (1) the desire for aesthetic modern innovations, (2) the High Church Movement, and (3) Rudolf Otto and those who followed his approach to liturgical reform.[76]

The first and most diffuse category encompassed (a) those who felt that the liturgy should be purely musical, that the Word of God is conveyed through music as well as the sermon, that music is a more apt instrument for communicating the noumenal quality of worship;[77] (b) those who saw drama as the key to the revival of worship in that the new mystery play seemed appropriate for developing an atmosphere for sacramental worship;[78] (c) those whose proposals included organizing worship around some significant historical personality such as Luther;[79] and (d) those who promoted a kind of multi-media worship. In this kind of service there are no hymnals and prayer books. Rather the words are flashed on a screen. The sermon is replaced by biblical stories and various religious dramatic enactments.[80]

The second group in the German Lutheran liturgical movement, the High Church Union, was more clearly defined than the first. The Hochkirchliche Vereinigung, which dates back to 1918[81] was, liturgically speaking, an attempt to reinstate in Evangelical liturgy many of the features of Roman Catholic worship.[82] The liturgical objectives of the movement as revised in a Berlin meeting on October 9, 1918 were:

> The High Church Union recommends a moderate recession of the sermon, a stronger emphasis upon the significance of the holy sacraments and their objective character - the necessary supposition being that they will be observed according to church ordinance - and a richer liturgical form of church worship.
>
> It will work toward the end that in the church service (through church and altar ornamentation, music, enrichment of imagery, etc.) more and more attention will be given to the sense of appreciation of the beautiful, the noble, and the genuinely popular, and that the holy content will always be presented in sacred, dignified forms.[83]

Theologically, the purpose of those involved in the High Church movement has been "an inner synthesis of Catholic dogma and worship and the Protestant faith in justification and grace."[84]

The High Church movement was not limited to German Lutheranism, but spread throughout Europe wherever a Catholic Revival was taking place.[85]

From 1924-1927 the High Church movement divided. A group called "The High Church Ecumenical Association" broke off because it desired a more decisive program. This group stated its intentions as:

> I. Standing steadfastly upon this platform the High Ecumenical Association acknowledges:
>
> 1) The Church established by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ as the visible, divine institution of salvation.

> 2) The divinely revealed word of the Holy Scripture as the rule and guide for faith and life.
> 3) The ecumenical symbols as the Confession of the entire Church.
>
> II. And in accordance therewith, it declares itself to be in favor of restoring the goods of the ancient, undivided Church wherever they have fallen into decay, hence:
>
> 1) For the restoration of the authority of the holy office established by Christ in the Church and of the episcopal contitution, with apostolic succession.
> 2) For the acknowledgment of the objective character of the holy sacrament and for careful education as to its salutary use.
> 3) For the restoration of the ancient church liturgy, especially the holy Eucharist as the chief and central article of Christian worship.
> 4) For the renewing of the Church customs in connection with the seasons of the Church calendar.
> 5) For the revival of the conventual calling, including the lay-orders that later grew out of them, and the cultivation of spiritual exercises.
>
> It strives further, having faith in the promises of the Master (John 17:21), for a close communion and the most intimate union with all Christians who take their stand upon this platform, without regard for the boundaries of countries and confessions. It heartily invites to join its fellowship all who accede to the ecumenicity and catholicity of the Church of Christ as implied in these principles.[86]

During the life of Rudolf Otto the majority of German Protestants showed little interest in the High Church movement, especially the "High Church Ecumenical Association."[87] Many Lutheran liturgical reformers, although in sympathy with many of the High Church concerns, wished to retain a more specific Lutheran identity. This was true even of Friedrich Heiler, a leader of the High Church movement.[88]

While Otto's experimentation was going on at the chapel of St. Jost in Marburg, Heiler was celebrating a Sunday evening service in the small chapel of St. Michael's in the same city, opposite the church of

St. Elizabeth. It was a very simple evangelical celebration: song, sermon, prayer, song, blessing, and had the same attraction as Otto's Saturday evening service.[89]

The liturgical movement according to Heiler was not mainly concerned with externals, but with the right conception of the Church.[90] The basis of liturgical reform was not aesthetics, but dogma, especially belief in the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. Like Otto, Heiler deplored the fact that the Eucharist had become a subordinate part of Protestant worship. This depreciation of the sacrament had affected the preaching, turning it into a rational discourse. Thus, Heiler wanted the communion service restored as the ordinary Sunday service.[91]

One of Heiler's concerns with liturgical reform which extended beyond a mere promotion of more beautiful church services was the need to enrich the prayer life of Christians. Private prayer as well as liturgical prayer should be fostered.[92] He recommended the church buildings should remain open for prayer outside the times of the liturgy.[93] He made a plea that Lutheran Christians return to the practice of retreats and such ascetical practices as fasting.[94] And he also proposed the restoration of religious orders in Lutheranism.[95]

Ecumenically, Heiler felt that the Lutheran Church even more than the Anglican Church was the _via media_ between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.[96] The union of the two traditions was the task of the High Church movement.

Before taking up the third trend in the German Lutheran liturgical movement, that which centered around Rudolf Otto, it is necessary to point out two other catalysts in this movement: the Youth movement and the Berneuchen Circle.

The German youth got interested in worship partly because it gave them an opportunity for applying their artistic proclivities and for finding an outlet for their appreciation of color, movement, and form.[97] Mensching indicates that special youth services had become very popular with their emphasis on singing processions with candles, altar ornamentation, incense, and Mary songs.[98]

Coming out of the experience of the World War, the Youth Movement, and the necessity to bring Protestantism together,[99] the so-called Berneuchen School [100] was composed of a group of young clergymen who occasionally published services for weekday evenings, communion services, and morning and evening prayer services.[101] The Berneuchen Circle tried to revive Protestant liturgy by an emphasis on the aesthetic.[102] Dating back to 1923, it was known as Michaelsbruderschaft from 1931.[103]

Rudolf Otto and the German Lutheran Liturgical Movement[104]

Dr. Paula Schaefer notes how Otto came to realize that the Protestant liturgy of his time had become too didactic, how the Lord's Supper was rarely celebrated, how the liturgy had become a kind of Sunday School, how the congregation was passive as if they were attending a lecture, how the liturgy was little more than a liturgy of the Word with a preface and Sanctus.[105] Otto felt something missing and tried to remedy this situation.

For years Otto conducted weekly services in a small chapel in the city of Marburg on Saturday evening at 8 p.m. for the students and people of the city. Later Otto gave up conducting the services himself and enlisted local ministers and lecturers from the university to do the job. These services were not eucharistic. They were liturgies of the Word which climaxed in silent worship.[106] Here at the chapel of St. Jost, Otto revived the old Lutheran antiphony in the form of responsorial reading and the litany. The service concluded with the communal meditative silence to which the preceding prayers led. Otto says that his service follows the Lutheran tradition of Hanover, his birthplace.[107]

Dr. Schaefer, who worshipped in the St. Jost Chapel, says that Otto's liturgy was for the city a kind of revelation.[108] Despite the cold of the severe winter of 1926-27, Otto lured the population of Marburg to his suburban chapel. There one met not only students and intellectuals, but housewives, girls in village dress, middle class couples, and many young people from all classes. At this time Otto never visited or participated in his own liturgies. The officiating priest was always a young vicar who conducted the services with great sensitivity.[109] For the theological students of the university this liturgy was like a magnet. Mrs. Schaefer relates how they came in the most inclement weather. She herself looked forward all week to the Saturday night services. She used to get so excited by the liturgy that she was unable to get to sleep until the early hours of the morning. The moment of silence was awesome. The language of the liturgy was modernized. The scriptures were well chosen and updated in language. The biblical texts avoided very carefully all indications of God as the avenger.[110] The litanies were composed by Otto himself and were concerned with contemporary problems.[111] Bernard Meland, a former student of Otto, wrote in 1934 of Otto's liturgical work:

> In many ways the most interesting phase of the new liturgical movement in Germany is the work being done by Rudolf Otto and his associates. Their proposals are neither Catholic nor modernistic in the secular sense. Instead, they are seeking to enrich Protestant worship by vitalizing the traditional forms without deviating from the Protestant and Evangelical emphasis.[112]

If one examines the specific aims of this trend in the German liturgical movement, one finds that there were six main concerns: (1) the introduction of silence in the liturgy, (2) the place of the Lord's Prayer, (3) the variety of prayer forms, (4) the sermon, (5) the reform of music, and (6) the reform of the Church calendar.

Re #1: On the matter of the introduction of silence in the liturgy, Otto was the undoubted leader. It was probably Otto's interest in this point that turned him to the whole question of the liturgy and its reform. Holy silence is connected with his idea of the numious. For Otto there is a time when the word of man no longer sufficies, and the Word of God must appear in holy silence. Holy silence is turning from the subjective to the objective, a turning to "Das ganz Andere." Some theologians, such as Karl Barth, did not agree with Otto. Barth ridicules Otto for introducing silence as the high point in the service of the Word. But silence for Otto was more than contemplation. "It was the moment when one passes beyond the borders of rational life into the mysterious beyond where God's own presence lies. It is a sacramental silence."[113] Silence was used by German liturgists in different ways, but always as the climax of the service. For Otto there were prayers which naturally led into the moment of silence. For Heiler, silence followed the sermon. Some placed it before the sermon. In the eucharist, it came before the communion. In any case, the notion of some sort of climax was all-pervasive.

Re #2: The Lord's Prayer was also considered an indispensable part of the services. Otto wanted it to be the high point of every service, whether it contained silence or not. In his services, the prayer comes immediately after the silence.

Re #3: In the matter of prayer forms, unlike the High Church movement which tried to return to old forms such as Compline, Otto (and the Berneuchen group) offered more modern services.[114] They were a mixture of the old (psalmody) and the new (various creeds and litanies). Otto himself composed a number of new and appealing creeds.[115]

Re #4: There was considerable criticism of the sermon. All the liturgical reformers said that the preaching had become too didactic and that the sermon was so over-emphasized that the service had become lopsided. This imbalance was rectified in the lesser services published at this time, although not many inroads were made into the main Sunday service where the sermon still reigned supreme. Otto and those who followed him moved the sermon forward in the service so that there would be more room for prayers and praise in the rest of the service.[116]

Re #5: There were movements to reform church music. Weighty Bach chorales were replaced with more popular music. Even folk-music was creeping into the liturgy! Otto made a plea for more poetry and song which would express the contemporary experience.[117] There were the perennial attempts to speed up the singing.

Re #6: There was some concern to reform the church calendar. The Swedish Lutheran, Emanuel Linderholm, led this reform. He tried to update the traditional Lutheran lectionary. In his Neues Evangelienbuch he worked out a new three-year lectionary in which he tried to bring more unity into the church year and readings.[118] Otto believed that it was not possible to revitalize the liturgy as long as the modified ritual merely enhanced traditional conceptions of Christianity. Modernization of the basic theme is necessary. What is needed is a church year with a forward look and a psychology of expectancy.[119]

In sum, then, one can say of this movement that:

> Definite and practical are the lines of procedure. The movement seeks, then, to make of every service a coherent unit developing one idea and culminating in a climax, using that period of corporate silence for the highest communion with God. The Lord's Prayer tends to become the most important worship-movement in the service. Prayer as a whole is receiving much more attention than formerly. The Creeds of the past are considered unsatisfactory from all sides. The sermon is becoming part of the service instead of the service itself. Music reform is under full headway. The Church Year is being critically examined with a view to more helpful schematization.[120]

Many criticisms were launched against Otto and his work.

Brilioth says of Otto:

> Otto's acute analysis of the irrational element in religious experience had indeed encouraged a more serious estimate of liturgical problems: but he quite fails to see that a glorified subjectivism can never create the sense of the tremendum and the fascinosum -- nothing can, except the objectively real. But what else than subjectivism is presupposed by "Der Schweigende Dienst," however much the holy silence which forms the center of the service is arrayed in elements such as the Sanctus and Benedictus, obtained by plundering the eucharistic liturgy? The eucharist has for him only a secondary importance.[121]

Dr. Thomas Talley asks if Otto's approach is too individualistic to be really liturgical.[122]

Paul Althaus criticizes Otto's "sacrament of silence" as being contrary to Reformation thought both in method and purpose. Its method is magical and an attempt to evoke divinity on the spot. Its purpose is to make an addition to the biblical-reformation ideal of prayer.[123]

Robert Will criticizes Otto for placing adoration (silence) over edification (preaching) in his services. For Will, the two are of equal value. Otto presupposes, according to Will, that only in the second part of the liturgy is the soul elevated to union with God. The liturgy of the Word, says Will, should communicate to us the presence of God as much as the more contemplative part of the service.[124]

Dr. Carl Piepkorn quotes Emil Pfennigsdorf as describing Otto as a "syncretistic liturgiologist."[125] Dr. Piepkorn also indicates that Otto's permanent influence on the liturgical movement in the Lutheran Church was ultimately minimal.[126]

Concurring with the opinion of Carl Piepkorn, Prof. D. A. Niebergall of Marburg and former associate of Otto says that the reason that Otto has so little lasting influence is that in the Germany of the twenties and thirties dialectical theology and the Luther Renaissance were determinative and decisive. Otto found himself in opposition to the prevailing Barthian theology of the day.[127]

Another reason, according to Niebergall, is that Otto's liturgical attempts were considered as too aesthetic and as foreign to the congregations. They were not sufficiently realistic. Niebergall admits that this last point needs more investigation.[128]

Otto's relationship with the other liturgical movements in Germany can best be described as one of friendly opposition. He felt that such groups as the Berneuchen Circle and the High Church Movement[129] were emphasizing too much the separation between the Church and the world. He saw them as placing too much of a dichotomy between the sacred and the secular and as tending to set off the life of prayer from the rest of life. This was especially his criticism of Heiler.[130]

In summary regarding the German Lutheran liturgical movement, it can be stated that, according to the writers of that time, there was an enriched liturgy, an awakening of active participation, and a wealth of new experimental rites. No where, as we shall see, have the aims and goals of this movement been so well articulated as in Otto's work, Zur Erneuerung und Ausgestaltung des Gottesdienstes.[131]

But in 1930 there were forebodings that this movement might not be as productive as hoped. Otto by 1930 was already seriously ill. Heiler was too High Church to produce new services. And at this time, the Berneuchen group's future was uncertain.

Part II: Otto's Liturgical Principles and Proposals

The main topic of this thesis: a critical evaluation of the liturgical theology and practice of Rudolf Otto, begins with the second part of this chapter. This section is concerned with a review of Otto's specific liturgical ideas and principles of liturgical reform. This is done by means of a detailed analysis of Otto's chief liturgical work, Zur Erneuerung und Ausgestaltung des Gottesdienstes.[132] This part has three main concerns: (1) an explication of the general pastoral principles which led Otto to engage in liturgical reforms, (2) an analysis of his explicit liturgical reform principles, and (3) a review of some of his concrete suggestions for implementing his liturgical ideas.

In 1925 Otto published his major work on the liturgy.[133] It appeared as part of the series entitled, Aus der Welt der Religion. This series was under the editorship of Gustav Mensching in which he was assisted by Otto and Niebergall.[134]

Otto says in the preface that he hopes to enliven worship, to break it out of the didacticism in which it was entrapped. He makes a plea that renewal be not only a question of theory but also of new practices.[135]

Otto wishes to make his contribution to the liturgical movement not through the imposition of new rites, however, but by suggesting possibilities which must pass the test of self-survival and appropriateness. He says this is the time for creativity and not the freezing of *a priori* conclusions. In order that the liturgical life not become stiff, many opportunities for liturgical variety and experimentation must be offered. Otto wants to tread the path between a frozen liturgical life and sheer chaos. Thus his method is to begin liturgical renewal with the secondary and occasional services and gradually let this renewal spread to the major Church services.

Otto's book is divided into four major sections: (1) general challenges, (2) the new shape of liturgical life, (3) model services, (4) musical supplement. This chapter will be concerned with the first two sections. Chapter Two will treat the last two.[136]

General Challenges[137]

After a warning that we must not over-emphasize the importance of liturgical renewal, that a living faith and the quality of our lives are more important, Otto begins this section by isolating the problem. Then he proceeds to give the special meaning of the solution of the problem, who is to do it, and what are the means to bring it about.

Otto sees the problem in terms of a revival of religious values.[138] That means that he is concerned with the massive alienation from religion in his day. There are basically three groups into which the rejectors of religion can be placed: (1) those who in increasing measure through a practical kind of secularization focus on the new society, (2) those who through intellectual change, science, and a modern world view have withdrawn themselves from theological concerns, and (3) the proletariat which is connected with the first two groups but has its own problems.

Those in the first group are not leading a polemic against religion. It is simply that the theological point of view no longer affects them in any concrete way. Secularization is an atmosphere that permeates all the classes. Groups two and three are more belligerent toward religion. So the Church must dialogue with these two groups. This is especially difficult in the case of group three, the proletariat, because it is penetrated with materialism and other modern enemies of religion. The real problem with group three is not theoretical but practical. Its rejection of religion is part of the class struggle. The Church is connected with capitalism, the police state and conservative systems in the popular mind.[139]

Before indicating the means for the solution of this problem, Otto addresses himself to the question of what does it mean to revive religious values? Is it a return to pristine Christianity? To a confessional and sectarian approach? To an elastic structure which admits of developments? To a modernized Christianity with a new world view? To a mood rather than a community? To a mere momentary thing rather than a life with meaning? Such views, according to Otto, are either too narrow for today's problems or they are the characteristics of all the great historical religions. Christianity for Otto is, in its deepest sense, salvation-religion. Penance, reconciliation, conversion, rebirth, life in God are its essential purposes. Unfortunately, these values no longer permeate the Christianity of the masses,[140] but only that of the chosen few, the elect. The folk-religion of the masses is mere custom and part of the cultural situation. There is some good in this folk-religion which should not be lost. And the Church must direct its attention to this "secondary" kind of Christianity.

Otto then turns to the question of who should be involved in this recovery of religious values. The answer is the Church. This refers in this case primarily to the Church leaders and those in authority. Otto also has in mind other organizations, both old and new which involve considerable lay participation. And even the notion of Church is not to be taken only in a restricted sense, but refers to the congregatio fidelium.[141]

Any means used to revive religion presupposes a new spontaneous interest in religious affairs, an intensified presence of the power of religion, apostolic zeal, and the pouring out of the Holy Spirit. But the Spirit moves where he wills. So, the means are selected according to the demands of religious revival. These demands are: (1) a softening of the hardened attitude of the proletariat against religious influence,

(2) a penetration of one class into another, (3) a wider penetration of the cultural values of the middle class into the working class, (4) popular education, and (5) more unity in communication on a community level. Thus, the first duty in liturgical reform is that of the mission of the Church. This primarily means social reform.

Only if religious reform is accompanied with social reform will it touch the individual and work into society itself. It is nonsense to speak of religious reform when devotion is an impossibility because of the demands of modern industrial life.[142] Exhausted minds and bodies will only turn to the quickest pleasure and relaxation in their free moments. And Otto sees this as not something which is limited only to the lower classes. There is less not more leisure time now. But leisure time is necessary for the growth of religion.

However, Otto does not mean that we should postpone all direct religious activity until we have solved the social problems. There must be an immediate concern with the Church. But the fact is that much of the lower class no longer comes to Church. Therefore, there must be some changes. The Salvation-Army here often gives the best example. Preachers must change their preaching methods to reach the popular mind. Spiritual stirrings in the lower class must be welcomed and fostered. Practical theology must be advanced, evening discussion groups fostered, popular religious literature promoted, libraries built for the people, especially in churches and schools.[143] Otto suggests investigation of the possibility of expanded relief programs, work colonies, and special care of the poor and sick.

Otto wonders if the day will come when the working class will be able to exercise what is their right: influence in Church government. By allowing this the Church can counter-attack the enemies which accuse it of being a caste-Church. The Church has the means at hand to do this through its power to vote. It has not been used. There can be problems with this, Otto admits. Some undesirable leaders can gain office, but the gain would be greater than the loss. The masses would be more involved. Initial abuses would give way to a steady developmental process. Otto believes that one can count on the power of faith to transform the people once they return to religious practice.

Apart from its involvement in social concerns and its expanding the common person's participation in Church affiars, what can the Christian community do to itself to revive religion? What is necessary above all is that the community overcome its fragmentation, that it adopt a life-style and a sense of togetherness that will clearly show its peculiar distinctness. This involves the following considerations:[144]

(1) Preaching: it is naive and primitive. It is too frequently based on "gut" emotional reaction. As a result, a religious outlook on life is not achieved which could be characterized as wholesome, mature, and deep. This is so necessary since there is no such thing as the building up of a religious and ethical culture today.[145] Otto here is not calling for a new apologetic, but for a return to the ideals of the reformation when a mature and involved Christian development of religion obtained.

Otto asks whether the content and form of Christian preaching will have to change. The content is eternal and transcendent, he says, but psychology demands change in expression. Since in general people are better educated, the form of preaching must be modernized. The message itself is as fresh and bright as it was in those early days, but it must now be incorporated into a modern life value-system. The content of our preaching will have an easy entrance into those areas of philosophy and general culture where there has been a rejection of materialism. Otto maintains that Christianity today, in contrast to other ideologies, has a ring of the modern about it. Unfortunately, the reality of Christianity is hidden under the cover of an old world-view and conception of history. It is enclosed in the coverings of myth and legend. Dogma is penetrated with myth. Those who are educated in a secular context will never accept this present expression of Christianity. So Christianity must modernize and free the spirit from contingent, historical forms. The Church must not hesitate in these matters, lest it be done for it. Otto quotes a dictum here: "Der Meister kann die Form zerbrecken, Mit weiser Hand zu rechter Zeit."[146]

So, the Church in its instruction must show the difference between the concepts of saga and legend and how they differ from scientific history. It must teach that the Holy Spirit is working in popular mythical creations and that these are preparatory in nature. This will protect what is the true worth of tradition and at the same time show how this tradition is limited by its own cultural context. We must keep in contact with the scientific world-view and not ignore it. We must with confidence address ourselves to the younger generation. If we do this, the crisis which many fear will fail to materialize. What we are trying to recover is not criticism and destruction but spiritual strength.[147]

We must accept the validity of the modern historical view of the world. It is unavoidable if religion is to remain an influence. We must have freedom to reshape the articulations of our beliefs. We must break with traditional religious procedures. In the past the ideal has been great inner uniformity, exclusivity, and as much unity as is possible in doctrine, liturgy, and practice. But such general uniformity is a false ideal. Rather, individual groups and minorities have the right to express themselves in different ways. Fear of a violent rupture here is an over-exaggerated one. The Christian principle is homogeneity in fundamentals. This is a powerful and lasting principle. Thus, there remains a common bond amidst diversity. The result will be many different kinds of groups, with special purposes, and different styles of preaching and worship. And one will discover how soon his fears of chaos will prove false. In main features there will be agreement. In the give and take of mutual contact the positive will outweigh the negative. The separation between so-called left-wing and right-wing is a simplistic invention. It is much more nuanced. It is a question of diverse tendencies. Many more obvious differences are found between high and low Church, ritualistic and evangelical, individualistic and communitarian, pietistic and intellectual, active and contemplative, sect and Church types. On the one hand the multiplicity increases, but on all levels there are connecting links between extremes. Within quite flexible limits there is a unity. There is an external unity of composition. This kind of building up of the Church was seen by Schleiermacher more than a hundred years ago and Otto hopes that the time might now be right that such a concept of the Church can win favor in the secularized classes of society.

If then, as Otto believes, the chief task of ecclesiastical reform is that which has to do with preaching, it must take on a whole new shape. If the Apostle Paul returned today in order to preach, he would publish a newspaper, says Otto quoting Bishop von Ketteler. Preaching today must utilize lectures, lecture courses, and traveling speakers. Today's preacher must be more than a pastor. The writing-traveling preacher must exist alongside the more stationary pastor. Because these jobs imply different talents there must be a re-division of these offices. A large part of the tasks can be entrusted to the established pastors. This is especially the case in large cities. We must have a different criterion for the performance of the minister if he is supposed to be suited for the spiritual needs of the public. He must be released from his numerous public and official functions and from the necessity to mass produce his sermons. Even a genius cannot possibly prepare sixty or more sermons a year that are of high quality. And sixty is a conservative estimate. Here we need the mobilization of preachers and an interchange of ideas. Twenty sermons is about the limit for one man. With an exchange of preachers, this problem can be alleviated. After all, the same preacher with the same sermon now serves several mission churches. An exchange of preachers will mean more time for preparation and so better sermons. If the pastor becomes mobile, he will be freer and more efficient.[148] Those who possess the gift of preaching should be free for this purpose. Each congregation should have the occasional opportunity to hear the better preachers. There should also be a division of preachers between the more popular and the more sophisticated according to the needs of the people. Nor is there any reason why those among the laity who are so talented should not engage in preaching, lecturing, counseling, or various other community works. This might lead to a form of clerus minor, to deaconesses, and cooperation with the pastor in secondary liturgical services.

(2) Education: Today, people go through their whole lives with no more religious understanding than that which they had when they were confirmed. The means of deepening one's understanding in the past have failed. Our problem, says Otto, is that our religious education ends where it should begin.

Continuing religious education should not follow hard upon elementary schooling. Religious instruction for the fifteen and sixteen year old is not of much use. Otto is more concerned with adult education. This can be obtained through lectures, courses, and even "sequential" preaching. All this should be well thought out and not done in a haphazard way. Otto envisions a whole system of education from popular adult education theology courses to the simplest lecture series for local congregations. This educational system should be accompanied with improvements in the liturgy. Otto is convinced that only through educational means will the people outgrow their religious naivete, for these means will encourage people to read available literature. The Church will be making use of a popular but still scientific approach to religion.

Theological studies must be new and diversified. The emphasis must pass from the historical and philological to that of religious philosophy and ethics, to a knowledge and study of the Zeitgeist of our times, to contemporary problems, to what Otto calls: "Auseinandersetzung mit Weltanschauungen und Geistesstroemungen der Gegenwart."[149]

There must be specialization among theological students. Each one cannot be expected to cover the whole field of theology. For instance, it will be necessary to let some omit Hebrew in favor of some other specialty and vice-versa. The students' theological programs should be shaped in accord with the kind of work they will be doing in the future, taking into account the areas in which they will be working and the people with whom they will be concerned. This allows them more spontaneity, and the opportunity to engage in some practical tasks. The young student after spending so many years in school should engage in something more concrete. To spend the years from eighteen to twenty-four in theoretical matters only is not healthy.

Otto feels that the mature student should have an acquaintance with the basic problems of religion today and also of the past. He favors all students being exposed to Kant's Critique of Pure Reason. It is the means of opening up the door to many religious questions. If our students, says Otto, had a genuine philosophical propaedeutic, we would not be educationally bankrupt. We would be spared materialism and ecclesiastical dogmatism. It would lead to a deeper understanding of our problems and to religious convictions which would be theoretically grounded. Philosophy is the conditio sine qua non here.

(3) Prayer: Along with improvements in preaching and education must go a deepening of the inner spiritual life. We need method in our prayer as well as in our education. Otto says that Protestants have excessively

recoiled from the idea of method in their devotional life. For many, such things as spiritual exercises, retreats, spiritual directors, devotions for their own sake, contemplation, meditation, and progress in the spiritual life are repugnant. They smack of mysticism, Catholicism, enthusiasm, monkishness, and all that which is medieval. And yet are not such things important for modern man who is always in a hurry?[150] If prayer is left to chance, it remains fragmented and undeveloped.

The first requisite for prayer according to Otto is the building of the Christian community. Prayer must happen in an ecclesial context. The Church is not some kind of incomprehensible generality; it is a circle of brotherhood. The Church should be a small, visible community in which all know each other, in which each one supports the other and where there is mutual stimulation. When this takes place, then religion will have real propangandist power. It is for reasons such as these that sects have such attractions. The drawing power of political and social organizations is due in great part to these.

Otto questions the emphasis on the independence of the individual congregations. Union because of special need, purpose, or leader is something long found in the Catholic Church and now is finding a place in liberal Protestantism.[151] One sees an increase in the occasional meeting. Sensitive religious groups assemble for days or weeks for sermons, worship and discussion. They are retreats for both the body and the soul. Otto mentions several places specifically: Pastor Blumhard' Bath, the house of Die Christliche Welt, and Dr. Miller's castle. People frequent these places because the feel religiously uprooted and disturbed by the times. These meetings should add depth to the religious life of our own times.

Otto's point is that one can only return to religion through religion. That means that renewal can take place through these traditional means just mentioned. Man should not cast them aside, believing them no longer relevant.[152] Rather once put into practice, they will prove quite modern. People under the pressure of business competition, for instance, seek these outlets. And Otto observes that it is interesting that many Japanese Buddhist business men are investigating the contemplative Zen sect for a sharpening of their religious tone and vigor. Likewise, now we see among ourselves the expression of the need for the practices of the Christian contemplative.

A revitalization of prayer life presupposes a modernization of the liturgy. To modernize the liturgy means more than adapting to changing circumstances. It is at least that, however. For instance, Sunday is now not just the day of the Lord; it is a day of relaxation. This will mean that some adjustment must be made.[153] Changes may have to be made such as the fixing of Easter, the transfer of feasts from weekdays to Sundays. Friday liturgy at midnight for workers is just as much to the point as is the high mass on Sunday at eleven for the aristocratic late-risers. Nor is there anything wrong with services of worship in the open air for those who are seeking relaxation and pleasure. Our reluctance here is due to our timidity, stiffness and lack of invention.[154]

(4) A new shape of the Church/State relationship:[155]

For Otto the separation of Church and State and the democratization of the Church are two primary things that are necessary for the reform of religion and liturgy. The first is obvious if there is to be such a thing as a meaningful relationship with the Church on the part of the individual. With separation of Church and State, the Church should be able to attract people from groups who are not presently interested. This will mean that the Christian community will have the freedom to develop according to its own needs and goals without regard of state inspectors and the like. And this is really more important for Protestantism than it is for Catholicism. Because of Catholicism's institutional structure, it finds state alliance and connections more amenable. For Protestantism, however, this is a compromise. Who can doubt that today required religious instruction is a failure? It only works in those cases which have treasured non-compulsory instruction. Thus, it has not worked at all. Many, even among the diffident, will give their children the opportunity for religious instruction if it is not compulsory and is presented in an invigorating way. The separation of Church and state will contribute to voluntary religious instruction. To teach enforced religion is a contradiction.[156] You have to have a willing teacher to teach religion. With separation there will be few teachers and if specialization is required, even fewer, but all this will improve the teaching even on a popular level.

Because of the defensiveness and caution of the state, the Church is lulled into a comfortable, but irrelevant way of life which separates its work from that of many other organizations such as missionary societies and various sects. It is false to think that if the state guarantees the existence of the Church, that the latter will spend its time in propagandizing. Rather, guaranteed existence will lead to a dulled existence. One can understand how men with interests in the state might be against the separation of Church and state, but it is difficult to see how men who are interested in the advancement of religion can be.

Connected with this is the further democratization of the Church. This implies such things as more independence for the local congregations, greater equality among adult Church members, pastors and boards of directors for each congregation, direct elections to the synod, independent Church leaders, proportional representation of the minorities, and freedom to shape the liturgy. There will be dangers in all this especially during the transitional period. But a tendency toward a democratic approach is inescapable as a lively interest in the Church and liturgy grows. After the transition, those with talent will rise to the top and there will be an improvement in quality.[157] This will mean that in its organization, the Church will be less institutional and authoritative, but more personal in its leadership. This approach, says Otto, may put the office of the Protestant bishop in a whole new perspective. They should be chosen according to free, general elections as is the Republic's president. They should be selected for their talents, ability to lead, personal initiative, and concern not to govern bureaucratically, but personally. If this happens, then the natural head of a democratic Church will be a consistory of bishops. This would work if the bishops were chosen and not selected from on high. Otto concludes this section of his book[158] with the warning that in all these matters we cannot make a separation between the sacred and the profane. Rather, an atmosphere of independence and personal responsibility must develop.

The New Shape of Liturgical Life

After a warning that liturgy must always keep in mind the mission to the world,[159] that what aids the life of piety will also be good for the mission to the world, Otto addresses himself to liturgy in a narrower sense, i.e., for the Christian congregation. In this section of the book he is concerned with principles of liturgical reform.[160] Otto presupposes that in liturgical discussions there will be a concern for theory, principles, method, catechetics, and the like. Such investigation of principles seems to appear most often when the liturgical life, in itself unreflective, is waning. The theoretical basis for the following principles and proposals is found in the Idea of the Holy.[161] There Otto says that the transcendent mystery of the eternal will of the Father in Christ and of the kingdom of God is ever anew a model for us and among us, that the objective will of the Father meets us with the intensity of its force, that out of such a meeting comes an authentic worship in the Spirit through a new submission and deep experience on the part of the worshipper. This is worship which is first of all an obedience which builds up, not many individuals at random in one place, but a group which understands itself as the unifying subject of the community. Rather than use the formal word, Gottesdienst, for this, it would be preferable to use the shorter word, Amt, or ministry.[162]

Otto's principles of liturgical reform include the following:

(1) Simplicity and diversity of ritual. Worship should be interesting and attractive. But merely adding externals is meaningless. People who are seeking the satisfaction of their religious needs in worship soon tire of them. Negatively speaking, externals are good to remove the obstacles to worship: routine, thoughtlessness, disregard of human psychology, platitudes, and the lack of concern for mature religious feeling. But to be more positive, what really makes worship interesting is whatever comes

from the meaning of worship itself. This meaning must be realized in a new and timely way.

When speaking about ritual Otto feels he must give a word of warning about such things as Ritualism, symbolism, sacramentalism, High Churchmanship, Romanism, aestheticism, and the like. Protestantism is the Church of the Word and must remain so. That means that preaching is the heart of the liturgy. It is the task of practical theology to produce good preaching. Protestantism forgets itself when it wishes to substitute the cleric, the liturgist, the priest for the preacher. Ministerium Verbi Divini is the Protestant word, not priesthood and hierarchy. Otto laments the fact that the name, preacher, is losing esteem.

However, Otto disclaims that Protestantism is against all symbolism. Luther certainly was not and even Zwingli wanted a meaningful Lord's Supper. Besides, too much ceremonial is not the present danger in Protestantism. There is room for more lee-way in this matter.[163] People are expressive in their ordinary lives. They laugh when they are happy; they weep when sad. And this not only in private. People remove their hats out of respect, they shake hands, carry flags and ensignia, and in these cases there is no question of instruction or preaching. So what is wrong with kneeling when praying, or folding and raising one's hands? And a Protestant might even make the sign of the cross occasionally! To say that it is un-Lutheran to use the sign of the cross at table grace is sheer rigorism. To use altars, flowers, candles, festive processions, the Eastward position, antiphonal singing, and the like is not Protestant nor Catholic. And it is as wrong dogmatically to oppose them as it is to impose them.

In this matter of simplicity and diversity some of Otto's proposals resemble those of Zwingli. He briefly refers to Zwingli's shape of the Lord's Supper. In the choir of the church there is a table for the Lord's Supper. At it stands the preacher with two deacons. The latter lead the responses of the congregation. The congregation is divided into two sides: men on one and women on the other. The whole church kneels for prayer. The reading and praying is done alternately between the preacher and deacons. The prayers of praise are spoken antiphonally between the preacher and the two sides of the church. This is also the case with the creed. After the reading of the institution narrative, the ministers bring bread and wine to those who are to receive, the latter remaining in their seats. At the end the preacher and the sides of the church recite a psalm antiphonally, probably Ps. 113. The service concludes with the blessing.

This service is characterized by responsorial spoken prayer throughout, an important emphasis for Otto. It also appeals to Otto because it is almost wholly congregational. In a service such as this lies the beginnings upon which Protestantism must develop its liturgical life.

Yet Otto did not neglect the contemplative element in worship. Because of the after-effects of Protestant Orthodoxy and the period of rationalism, the practice of contemplative prayer died out. It was kept alive in strong Puritan circles with their silent worship.[164] For the recovery of worship today we need a service which has these meditative elements, a silent communal worship in which one can experience the numen praesens. At the same time, the service must contain preaching as well as community participation, song and prayer. In other words, it must be a worship that in general design has a full and diverse shape. For instance, in place of patterned prayer, there should be free prayer. Or there can be the use of the compositions of the great men of prayer, both of the past and contemporary. In place of monotony, there should be adaptability to the special character of the day, the time, the place, and the Church Year. There should be diversity whether on Sundays or during the week and the types of services should range from the formal congregational worship to a more subjectively shaped community prayer with songs. And to do this the liturgy need not toss aside tradition. Tradition can be renewed and changed.[165] Tradition will express itself and its expression will be invigorated in accord with its own nature. It is the mark of Protestant worship that in contrast to the uniformity of Catholicism it encourages diversity of forms. There should be a multiplicity of worship forms depending on the place, local traditions, the temperament and needs of the community. In this way the liturgy will become all things to all men. Above all, Protestantism's legitimate characteristic is diversity of expression and freedom in worship. A High Lutheran liturgy, such as in Swedish Luteranism, with vestments and chant can be fully Protestant, if it does not make this approach exclusive and forbid simpler forms. On the other hand, the formless worship of the Puritans can be "catholic" if it does not consider itself the only valid way.

(2) Fidelity to the Structure of Christian Worship:

The ordinary worship service has two high points which are divided naturally: the preaching of the Word and the prayer service, the offering of praise and thanks. The first part of the service should lead directly to the sermon. It should be short and compact. The sermon should be the high point. For this reason, Otto prefers two readings rather than three.[166] Unfortunately, for Protestants the second part is little more than an appendix of the first.[167] It should, however, be fully developed as the second high point. Since the problem with liturgical reform in the German Lutheran Church is with the prayer service, Otto's main concern is to elaborate on the second half of liturgical services. He stresses those structures of traditional liturgies which have been neglected by his own tradition.

(a) Communal prayer: Based on the necessity of the participation of the community, the prayer service should be communal and choral. In contrast to Catholicism the participation of the congregation in prayer is an exercise of its priesthood. This is done through singing and through responsorial prayer. After the preached word, common prayer is the main purpose of worship. And such prayer should not be considered merely an appendage. It is more than a convenient framework. It belongs to the essence of worship. The English words: common prayer are synonymous with Gottesdienst for Otto. Songs and the Our Father are common prayer. The individual in the liturgy does not pray privately but he prays as a member of a gathered celebrating community and the community prays in him.[168]

Otto tells how this came to him existentially when once he worshipped in a small Christian congregation in the hinterland of India. This little community employed the early Christian practice of praying the psalms antiphonally. The congregation, following their psalm books, alternated the verses of the psalms with their leader. They spoke slowly and yet in a festive manner. Here was a whole community at prayer. The community spoke through the individuals. This was a real celebration. The congregation spoke as one. It was a celebration although the psalms were not set to music. However, singing did follow the psalm recitation and in this way the prayer of the community was perfected.

The worship service of this Indian congregation reminded Otto of home-liturgies he had participated in previous years in a pastor's home in Saxony. Here the psalm was divided among the members of the household. The communal use of the psalm caused a unity and feeling of community which the common singing did not.

The power of the word-spoken-in-common makes itself felt outside the Church. For instance, it is used at the meetings of the Socialists.

Otto notes that one can find congregations that have divided the singing according to verses between the two sides of the church. Frequently, one finds that the English hymn books divide the songs antiphonally. What is needed again is what Zwingli[169] and the early Lutheran liturgies had: choral prayer.[170]

This liturgical tradition was never completely lost. Responsive reading and also the singing of the psalms always remained in Anglican circles. This is also the case in various Calvinist groups: Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists in England and America. These antiphonal prayers consist of psalms or parts of scripture divided into versicle and response. Otto calls these choral-prayers because they are prayed in a group. The leader intones clearly the first part of the first verse of the psalm. Then the congregation answers in full choir, speaking in unison with the remainder of the verse. And so to the end of the psalm.

Otto believes then that we must recover the use of the psalms in worship. But he does not recommend that all the psalms be used or be employed in the mechanical ways such as in Catholicism and Anglicanism.[171] They should be chosen according to the character of the Sunday, shortened if too long, lengthened if too short. Free prayers can be composed out of psalmodic material. In any case, they should be used according to their original intent: prayers of the community. They should be used in such a way that communal worship comes to clear and direct expression. Hopefully, in time we will be able to sing them according to the traditional psalm tones. But singing the psalms is not always possible especially in unsophisticated congregations. In these the leader should start with a small group from the congregation which would recite the psalms. Gradually the practice can be extended to the whole congregation.[172]

Besides the psalms there are innumerable parts from scripture that can be used in a psalmodic way, e.g., parts of II Isaiah, Jeremiah, the prophets, the hymns of the New Testament, the beatitudes, and segments of the epistles. I Corinthians 13, says Otto, is something to be prayed, not just read. And in general, whatever is good for the congregation will be good for devotions at home: e.g., antiphonal psalms.

The purpose of this kind of praying according to Otto is twofold: (1) to unify the individuals in the congregation and (2) to build up the independent individuality of the congregation. It is the second which is the peculiarly Protestant part. The "liturgist" disappears or is made secondary when the two sides of the congregation respond to each other antiphonally.

Otto's Chorgebete contains not only psalms but other parts of scripture for this antiphonal use. There must be a demand for this form of prayer, says Otto, since the sales of the book were unexpectedly good. Otto also remarks that he has published an addendum to this book.

Choral prayer still has its place in Sunday liturgies as in the introit psalm in Lutheran churches in Hanover and Bavaria. This is the entrance psalm after the first hymn. It should be sung but this practice may be disappearing since the habit of antiphonal singing has vanished in other parts of the liturgy. But at least it may be possible to have it recited antiphonally. The easiest way to accomplish this is to have those in the confirmation class use this method and then have them keep up the practice later.[173] Also, one can form a volunteer group to learn this method and then disperse them in the congregation. Such a group Otto calls the Helfer-chor to distinguish it from the regular four-voiced choir of trained musicians.

Secondly, the proper place for the choral prayer is at the end of the pause which is at the beginning of the service. Just as the introit is called the entrance psalm, so this is called the "elevation" psalm[174] since it precedes the "raising of the heart." On special occasions a four-voiced choir might sing the entrance psalm as an "elevation" psalm. There should be a manual for this purpose entitled: "Four-voiced Antiphonal Psalms for Mixed Choirs." It should be within the abilities of an unsophisticated choir.

(b) Vocal prayers: They should reflect the diversity in the tonality of the times of the year. These prayers should be varied according to the character of the Sunday. For special occasions there should be suitable prayers either fixed or free. Free prayer should play a larger part in Protestant worship than it has. Its promotion should precede all other liturgical reform. Every fixed prayer should be preceded with the rubric: "here he prays these or his own words." Fixed prayer should have the depth necessary to serve as a model for free prayer.[175] It should even be replaced by free prayer since fixed prayer is a "crutch" which is more harmful than useful.

The ability to pray spontaneously is a gift, as is the ability to compose spiritual songs and poetry. There is a need not only for new and excellent readings and songs but also for a new prayer literature which is rich in content. Prayers simply cannot be made to order. Like a sermon, they need inner preparation; they must be maintained in a certain solemnity of mood before they are prayed in community. After that they can be put in general use and the best of them will remain the property of the community.

For all read prayers, Otto recommends the traditional collect form. He does not think it should be sung but suggests the use of metrical speaking. This will prevent the prayer from becoming a lecture, a declamation, an opportunity for the injection of the minister's personal feelings. In the case of such lengthy prayers as the Prayer for the Church, variety can be obtained by dividing it into smaller parts, each closing with an Amen by the congregation. The whole collection of these prayers can close with the triple Amen. This approach will work whether the prayers for the Church are fixed or free. Otto averts to the Anglican practice of concluding the service with the "three collects," a practice which, he says, never wearies.[176]

Otto comments on some of the other formal spoken prayers of the liturgy. He does not recommend the insertion of the preface and Sanctus every Sunday, but only on more solemn days. On days when they are included, a short form of the creed is preferred. When they are omitted, a longer form is in order.

The joyful words, "Let us confess the Lord our God," should be the model to follow in the matter of creeds. Otto is attacking those who feel they must continually recite the creed out of a sense of duty. Otto has no desire to abolish the creed from worship, but he believes that more freedom is necessary here. He maintains that the articulation of the faith in creeds is necessary as the Church passes through its history, but it is not evangelical to hold to one formulation and consider it sacro-sanct. Here Otto further suggests the possibility of using various alternatives to the creeds. He even suggests using Luther's explanations of the articles of the creed as substitutes. One might also use credal songs, or creeds composed for special occasions.

When the creed is included, it usually follows the Emporpsalm, the gradual psalm,[177] as an introduction to the thanksgiving part of the service. If this psalm is recited by the congregation, the creed is spoken by the minister or preacher. If the psalm is sung by a mixed choir, then the creed is sung in the form of a hymn.[178]

The true ecumenical creed is the Lord's Prayer. It presupposes and conveys the whole gospel. Otto considers it unevangelical to consider other credal formulae, such as the Nicene Creed, as preferable to the Lord's Prayer. He expresses satisfaction over the fact that the common recitation of the Our Father is coming back into use. For him this prayer is the high point and conclusion of the prayer service.[179] It should be spoken or sung in common by the whole congregation.[180] In this the congregation can exercise its general priesthood. The prayer leader should not usurp the role.[181] He should but introduce the prayer. And this moment in the celebration should be announced with the ringing of bells so that those who cannot be present, e.g., the sick, can join in prayer with the worshipping congregation.

(c) Contemplation and silent worship. The liturgy comes to fulfillment in rest, not activity. Occasional pauses such as between prayers and as transitions from prayers and readings to hymns are quite meaningful. Other times of silence might be: when the preacher goes to the altar or pulpit, during the offering of the gifts, or while the assistant lights the candles. These latter actions need not be covered over by hymns as if they were interruptions in the service. We have forgotten the important art of keeping quiet and this is most detrimental to our devotional life. Now we have little ability to retain a thought, a picture, an artistic impression, a natural occurrence and the like in our minds, to let them move our hearts, to let them sink in, to lose ourselves in them, and to surrender to them. We must discuss, criticize, and converse instead of letting these things speak to us. That is the real problem with our liturgy today.[182]

Otto endorsed Linderholm's service of silent prayer. It had been favorably received by congregations.[183] Otto's own service of Sacred Silence is probably an adaptation of the Quaker silent worship. The most worshipful service he ever experienced was a Quaker meeting in Boston. Of Quaker worship he says:

> It is the most spiritual form of divine service which has ever been practiced, and contains an element which no form of worship ought to be without, but which...is unduly neglected in our Protestant devotional life. We must learn it again from the Quakers, and thereby restore to our divine service a spirit of consecration, the loss of which has cost it dearly.[184]

This practice has not been restricted to the Quakers only. Otto tells of how he had experienced it in a Calvinistic congregation in New York City when 2000 people kept silent after the sermon. He also found it in the Lord's Supper of the Congregationalists. It has been in use at Wuerttemberg in connection with the Good Friday and Passion services. Silence is indispensable in connection with the Passion of Christ. From this practice it spreads to the Sundays of the year. Linderholm suggests organ playing during the silence and Otto finds this commendable.

Yet Otto realized that he could not simply transfer the Quaker service into the Lutheran Church. For that reason he constructed services which would climax in a short period of silence which is to be at once the "silence of sacrament and the silence of waiting, and which may become at least for the more practical, also a realization of union."[185] All else leads to this great moment. It is the time in the service when the "Wholly Other" comes into the presence of the worshippers, bringing them the experience of the mysterious.

(3) Proper distribution of roles in the liturgy:

If worship is to be truly Protestant, then the most important part in the prayer service must be played by the congregation and not by the preacher. Otto finds it strange that it is frequently the Catholic Mass which gives a greater share to the congregation through the various ministers such as the acolytes.[186] He cites the example of how the Lord Mayor of London once stopped in Cologne and offered to act as an acolyte at Mass. Otto insists that the congregation must be restored its place in Protestant worship. It is not the domain of the pastor as the one who leads the service. The model here is Jewish worship which does not depend on a priest or rabbi. Any adult Jew who is in good repute and enjoys the trust of the congregation and has gained some liturgical knowledge through regular participation in worship can be a prayer leader.

Working on the presupposition that the degree to which emphasis is placed on the priesthood of the laity, to that degree there will be development in the liturgical life,[187] Otto suggests the use of trained elders for the weekly services to replace the already overburdened preachers.[188] On special days there should be two leaders at the altar, as is done in the Swedish Church. Otto calls them: presbyter and deacon.[189] If there are two preachers assigned to a church, they can divide the tasks between them. At the present time, the presbyter and deacon must be clergymen. It would be even more ideal if there were many men in the congregation to whom these liturgical tasks could be entrusted. Gradually the deacon can be chosen from the membership of the congregation[190] and given some simple liturgical schooling. Otto suggests employing young people after their confirmation as "acolytes" so that later they might become deacons. The deacon can direct the prayer services. His tasks will be closely connected with those of the Helfer-chor in leading the community. He will read the lessons and along with the presbyter take up his position on the right side of the sanctuary in the sight of the congregation. Otto observes that the "catholicizing" Church of England has used the lay reader for a long time. Here one can see a layman in modest dress at the lectern doing the readings. Such a deacon could soon lead the weekly service (without sermon). Otto feels that assigning the readings, proclamations, and intercessions to the deacon and presbyter enlivens the worship. Also this practice should train the laity to get along without a clergyman on numerous occasions.

While the congregation is singing, the leaders should neither disappear into the sacristy, nor remain at the altar, but should sit and sing with the congregation.[191] Otto remarks that the Lutheran practice of turning toward the altar or Eastward position makes sense, but more important than such a meaningful expression (prayer of the whole community directed toward God) is that the prayer be understood by all. Thus, at least in the case of free prayer, the minister should face the congregation. The Anglican Church in this case has chosen the middle way. The leader does not face the West side, but stands at the North end or at the left side of the altar. Thus, he is half turned toward the congregation, keeping the symbolism of the altar (the table of the Lord) and also allowing the prayer to be understood by the congregation. Otto seems to favor this.

Otto also suggests the use of the choir and the auxiliary choir or Helfer-chor. The choir refers to the musical mixed voice choir.[192] The Helfer-chor is a small group made up of members of the confirmation class, or younger members of the congregation. Basically, this group is that section of the congregation which gives support to the rest. Under the leadership of the deacon it performs the responses and the spoken choral prayer. It helps the congregation by sharing the prayers with it. It either has its place at the altar or in the back pews or else it spreads itself throughout the congregation.[193]

(4) Recovery of the Structure of the Lord's Supper:

As was the case with many of his contemporaries, Otto bemoaned the fact that the supper aspect of the liturgy had become a mere appendix to the service. He called for a reformation here. But he was unwilling to restore the eucharist to the main Sunday service lest it become something which would be done by the priest and not the entire congregation. Fears of the practice of the Roman Church lurked in the back of Otto's mind. So, he felt that the supper must be severed from all other services. It must become an independent celebration and everyone present must participate in it.[194] Otto gives the following criteria for constructing the communion service.[195]

a) In the Eucharist Christ identifies two events, not two substances. The event of Golgotha with its mystery is present in the breaking of the bread and so God himself is present.

b) The basis of the eucharistic rite was a sacramental meal which signified the uniting of the participants in a spiritual union. For Christians this means union in the body of Christ. This union is signified by the kiss of peace and so this gesture should be put at the beginning of the celebration.[196]

c) The rite, especially the cup, includes an anticipation of the eternal meal in God's kingdom.

d) Every celebration of the Lord's Supper is a celebration of the universal Church, represented by a special part of it. The Lord's Supper is the meal of unity, expressing the bond of God with his people. This is an inseparable bond between those in the congregation and those now beyond it. It is the communion of those on the way and those who have reached fulfillment. So it is a most perfect form for a memorial-celebration for the dead.[197] Otto feels that it is a mistake of Protestantism that it leaves out of the celebration of the eucharist this commemoration of the dead. He says, "It would be a fine custom if those who have lost some one dear to them were to go on the next Sunday to the Lord's Table, there to realize their abiding communion with their departed."[198]

e) The eucharistic rite is a congregational one; it is not a spectacle performed by another.

f) The eucharistic rite must avoid too close a resemblance to the ordinary service. The _missa catechumenorum_ must be repeated or used as an introduction. The rite must be congregational and some worthy members of the congregation can be commissioned to help in the distribution of the elements.

g) Christ's eucharist was a meal. So, the altar must remind us of a table. It was a supper and so the proper time for it is in the stillness of the evening and not the morning. Candles are very much in place on a supper table.

h) Otto says he does not believe in much music for the ordinary service, but for this eucharistic celebration there is a place for simple choral songs and solos. They should add to the meditative atmosphere.

In summary Otto says:

> We see then how it must needs be celebrated. It cannot become a "mass," that is to say a spectacle, conducted by an individual while the others watch, without losing entirely its original significance of a meal, representing and forming the union of the many into one. It is essentially a congregational rite, admitting of private application only in exceptional cases. It does not admit of side-issues; it cannot be used for the application of this or that

> intentio; it has neither meaning nor purpose apart from itself. But as congregational it is always in every case the festival of the whole congregatio christiana, and especially, on account of its eschatological import, it is also the appropriate occasion for the celebrating unity with those members of the congregatio who have passed away. For the supper is the "covenant meal." This covenant is the covenant of God with His people, but for that very reason it is also the covenant of brotherhood of that people within itself. And this covenant unites in an inseparable bond the communion which is below and the communion which is above.[199]

On the practical side, Otto makes some suggestions for the distribution of communion. If the communicants receive in the sanctuary pews and the first bench, then the altar will properly become the table of the Lord. The original meaning of the Lord's Supper will be restored: a meal of brotherhood and unity. The altar will be the place where the meal is eaten. The altar will not be a place where a mass is celebrated. And this meal will be surrounded and penetrated with prayers as was the first one.

With the usual form of distribution, the service is unduly prolonged when there is a large number of communicants. However, suggests Otto, one might place pews in the sanctuary around the altar, move in the first pew from the nave, and then let the communicants sit in these pews.[200] One or preferably two ministers can go in succession to those seated in these pews. In this way the communicants need not approach in small groups and the distribution will take less time.

Where there is hesitation about drinking from the same chalice, the intinction-cup should be used. Those who want to maintain the traditional way can still receive from a common cup. The Eastern Churches dip the bread in the wine and then serve it. This method is occasionally used in America in Anglican Churches. The common cup is offered first and then the intinction-cup which is a wide, flat cup filled with wine. There is a paten containing the consecrated wafers attached to the stem of the cup. The minister dips the Host in the wine and gives it to the recipient.

(5) The promotion of the liturgical hours:

Otto prefers the terms, morning and evening prayer, to matins and vespers. He feels that these two services are indispensable for a vibrant liturgical life.[201] Lay preachers and deacons should be taken from the congregation and given some liturgical training to lead these services. Otto allows a lot of freedom in regard to these services, e.g., individual bible classes might shape them. They present the laity with an opportunity to learn how to shape the liturgy.[202]

In the readings in these weekly services, the wealth of preaching and testimony of the Church should come into play by means of a selection of ancient and modern edifying religious literature. Short excerpts from this collection can be read in the absence of a preacher. These services should be not only "liturgical" but they should also contain preaching. Again, one may use the Fathers of the Church as recommended by Smend.[203] What is needed is a book of such readings covering the Church year with corresponding choral songs and hymns. It could serve as a prayer book for the family as well.[204]

(6) A restructured Church Year:

Otto felt that a necessary part of liturgical renewal was the reshaping of the Christian calendar. It should be an enriched calendar. It should have an elastic system of feasts, times, and Sundays. It should make use of the pericope-system for the readings. Along with this there should be a group of prayers which are both traditional and rich in content. These prayers should express the character of the Sunday and feast. For all this Otto found something ready at hand. It was Linderholm's Neues Evangelienbuch. Otto considered this book a remarkable success. Basically Linderholm took over the medieval system and corrected it so that the "theme" would control the choice of readings.

For Otto the advantages of an order for the Church year are so obvious that it needs no further discussion. It should, of course, not be too rigid. But its advantage is that worship is not left to the caprice of the minister. Where there is not such an order, the revival of Protestant liturgical life is hindered. Without it, the congregation is at the mercy of the preacher.

Linderholm's Church year order is governed by a comprehensive leit-motive of the kingdom of God and its coming in time and in eternity. All liturgy presupposes a Dromenon or a transcendent reality which takes place or is present in that liturgy ever anew. In the Christian liturgy this reality is the Kingdom of God. That includes its preparation, its foundation in the redemptive work of Christ, its super-abundant reality, its coming to fulfillment in time, its mysterious contemporary presence in Word and assembly, its being in the community of mankind and in the person of the individual, its temporal and eternal perfection. It is fashioned in the shape of the Church year with the recurrence of feasts, the temporal cycle, and the individual celebrations as set out by Linderholm. This new Church year should represent anew this transcendent reality, this Dromenon.[205]

Through his selection of readings Linderholm gives each Sunday its own unified character. According to Otto, Linderholm's lectionary is an improvement over the Roman one. Each Sunday in Linderholm's work is so richly equipped with readings that each year there is something new to be said or celebrated. In this way the diversity and richness of the God News comes again and again to the Christian community.

(7) The proper place of music in the liturgy:

Otto makes several points regarding music in the liturgy:[206] a) Music must always remain secondary. b) How much music is used will always depend on the understanding and sensitivity of the majority of the congregation. For the non-musical, music can be a torture. c) On feast days and special occasions, a moderate amount of well-known music with generally known texts should be used. d) The choir should not usurp the function of the congregation. e) There should be an organ solo at least at the beginning, at the end, and immediately after the sermon. This will introduce the element of pause and contemplation in the service at the proper places. Otto feels that it is better not to sing a hymn immediately after the sermon since this will introduce a distraction from what was said in the sermon. Rather, a meditative organ piece is more in order before proceding onto a hymn. f) There should be the cultivation of religious music, not in the form of concert music but in the form of the chorale.[207] By chorale Otto means organ, other instrumental, choir and solo music. But Otto warns that there should be some unity in the music employed in a service. And these "chorales" should not be limited only to solemn feasts. Modern music and contemporary poetry should also be used.[208] In this way, we will keep religious art alive. But this chorale music should not be used as a substitute for regular or important liturgical services. That would be a grave injustice to those who are not musically inclined. If the latter do not mind, then more difficult music may be introduced into the service. g) The Aufwaertspsalm (after the pause in the liturgy) is the place for chorale music especially. It can serve as an apt transition to prayer. Otto suggests that this would be the place for Bach cantatas.[209] The Aufwaertspsalm itself can be performed by a mixed choir on festive occasions.

Concerning the matter of the composition of new hymns, Otto observes that we hardly are following the exhortation of the psalmist: "Sing to the Lord a new song." Most of the songs we sing are old! He laments the fact that there is almost no opportunity for introducing songs that spring from the feeling and experience of the times. As a result: 1) the liturgy lacks the possibility of direct contemporary expression and 2) we lose the ability to compose this kind of Church music. Who will write such music if no one will sing it? Otto asks: Is our devotion so subjective and so secular that this music is only being composed for the occasional concert and not the congregation? He thinks not.[210] Otto blames the lack of musical creativity on the use of a fixed hymnal. Since only music out of the hymn book is used, artists turn their talents elsewhere. Let us, says Otto, again create the need for new music. Perhaps, the first attempts at contemporary songs will be clumsy and groping and too reminiscent of our secular lyrics, but in time this will be corrected. The old hymns should never be forgotten but new ones are needed to give expression to our own religious feeling.

Otto gives several guidelines for the matter of improving the music in the liturgy:

1) What is old but good, such as the stately psalms, should be put into our hymn collections. These hymns never really grow old because of their authenticity. Otto feels that it is a severe loss for Protestantism that psalmody has disappeared. Psalms can easily be sung antiphonally. This gives to the liturgy a liveliness and dramatic quality that nothing else can.[211] It enhances the sense of community that Protestantism needs.[212] There is greater freedom of expression in the psalms. The rigidity of the metrical hymns makes them too confining.[213] In circles where the old psalms are sung, new ones can easily be introduced.

2) Otto welcomes the efforts of those who are competent in ancient songs and texts such as those of the breviary, but he says that our own time must be made to sing again. One must create a need for new music. And this need will only come about when the Church makes room for this music in the service. We cannot be content with music which is at least fifty years old or is selected by a synod or committee.[214] This music must spring immediately from this time and this place. It may vanish with the passing of the occasion for which it was created. It may be suitable only for the group for which it was made. Or it may pass over into more general use. This last possibility is a long time off and if it is to be brought about, more independence and freedom will have to be given to individual congregations in liturgical matters. And there is another immediate task that lies before us, namely, a new collection of hymns for individual devotions, for homes and special groups. We need paraliturgies.

3) One cannot produce poetic compositions on the spot. Poets with a religious sensitivity can do much to foster the composition of religious poetry and music. These artists must always keep the congregation in mind so that it can use their compositions in an authentic way. The modern poet must overcome his onesided subjectivism, and his exaggerated personalism.[215] He must not turn prayer into something for the aesthete only.

4) The content of the new hymns should manifest diversity. The heart of all Christian hymnody is the redemption of the child of God, but this can take many forms. Otto remarks that we do not need to sing "dogma." We need community songs, brotherhood songs, or as he puts it: Wir-lieder. He makes a special plea for the restoration of the chorale. He eschews soft and sentimental songs. He wants the strong Christus lieder. Yet Otto desires the Christological hymns be subordinated to the God-the-Father hymns.[216] He also wants hymns to the Holy Spirit ("who is the step-child of dogma"....quoting Ritschl). Again, Otto wants songs of meditation and contemplation which will lead to the high point of the sung prayer: silence.

5) The problem of the composition of new texts and hymns is tied in with the formation of Christian community.[217] Good preaching might stir on the talented poet. The Church year with its changing moods can be a source of experience which presses for expression in those artistically inclined. Otto would like all forms of religious experience to come to concretization in Church music.

Turning to some practical points of technique Otto relates how the well-known organist, Oechsler, in Erlangen only intones the first verse and then lets the congregation carry on a capella. He agrees with this practice. Only in this way will the congregation recapture its independence and attain security in its singing. At the same time, through the use of the postlude and the prelude, there can be a recovery of the special character of each congregation in its contemplative moments of silence. These organ solos would become meaningful parts of the liturgy supplying the background for the moments of communal silence. Also, security in a capella singing is important for those times when an instrument is not available. For such occasions one should get accustomed to services without music. Musical texts, says Otto, can be recited and at times in a very impressive way.[218]

The best aid to congregational singing is the indirect intercessory style or what Otto calls the prayer of Chrysostom. It is in the form of a litany to which the congregation responds with either Kyrie eleison or Lord, have mercy on us.

The type of song entrusted to the leader should not be one in which he can demonstrate his singing abilities. It should be a chant, a recitative. However, in the collect prayer and preface he should adopt a more solemn tone.

8) Evangelical church appointments:

Otto says very little about liturgical appointments. His sanctuary design has no room for reredoses and statues. They destroy the idea of the "table of the Lord." They give the appearance of "Mass altars" and of "frames for tabernacles." They have no place in Protestant churches. They are contrary to the first commandment.[219] For the same reason the simple cross is preferable to the crucifix. But there must be something in the church which brings the line of vision to a focal point. This is best accomplished if on the back wall of the apse, about mid-way up, there is a dark colored glass window on which in glittering gold are found the words: Vater Unser.

As regards liturgical garments, Otto admits that he has little sympathy for the custom of the Swedish Church which uses colored vestments. He feels that the Chorrock is so noble, so simple, and so symbolic because connected with the history of Lutheranism, that it should be retained.[220] This is especially true since it was not derived from priestly vestments, but was a simple lay, secular, and festive garment.

(9) The gradual introduction of change in the liturgy:

Otto was opposed to all violent introduction of liturgical reforms. This creates enemies and is offensive. Or it turns out to be a paste and scissors job which does not last. However, one thing can always be directly introduced and that is free prayer. This should not be offensive or cause problems with the existing service.

Moreover, what is needed, says Otto, are small communities, ecclesiola in ecclesia, in which there is an opportunity for a lively interest in worship to come to expression. In other words, places for experimentation. It would be absurd to introduce the service of silence into one of our average large city congregations, expecting it to give up suddenly its accustomed form of worship.[221]

Finally, Otto laments the approach which equates liturgical reform with mere subtraction. He is referring to the situation where the true priesthood of the laity is properly emphasized, but where all ancient liturgical customs are stripped away, the liturgy is practically reduced to the sermon, and this then is extolled as some kind of Protestant ideal.[222]

FOOTNOTES

Chapter One

1. During the academic year of 1969-70 the University of Marburg had a special commemoration of the centenary of his birth.

2. He was appointed professor of systematic theology in 1904.

3. His death in 1937 was occasioned by a fall. There seems to be no evidence that it was a suicide. The death was not due to the fall directly, but to the pneumonia he contracted while recovering in the local clinic. In a letter dated October 30, 1969, Dr. Schaefer, a student of Otto, says that she never heard that Otto might have committed suicide. But she confirms the known fact that Otto took a walk with a friend to a place where there was a lookout-tower. He fell down the staircase. He was found at the bottom of the ruin of Stauffenber (cf. an article by Dr. Schaefer to be referred to later in this chapter).

4. In a personal letter dated October 10, 1969, Dr. Schaefer describes Otto as a "kind of an ecstatic person combined to a very Protestant clear thinking man."

5. For this information and for much concerning the life of Otto and his liturgical work, I am indebted to Mrs. Schaefer, a retired philosophy professor now living in Germany. Apart from several personal letters containing material about Otto, Dr. Schaefer has also written a special article (yet unpublished) for me giving her assessment of Otto's work. This article is dated December 19, 1969.

6. This information comes from the article referred to in footnote five. Dr. Schaefer gives certain further biographical details regarding Otto: how he had contracted malaria on his trip from Morocco to India, how when indisposed he would conduct classes lying on his bed, rose in hand and surrounded by his favorite students, how Otto tended toward psychological depression due to his poor health, how this became worse in his later years, and how at 49 he had completely white hair and suffered from arteriosclerosis. He was such a numinous person, says Dr. Schaefer, that it is told that once despite the warning of relatives he entered a farmyard whose dogs attacked every visitor. Otto entered the farmyard and the dogs laid down at his feet and wagged their tails.

7. Several biographical details of Otto are found in Joachim Wach, "Rudolf Otto and the Idea of the Holy," Types of Religious Experience (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd), 1951, pp. 209 ff. Wach confirms many of the details mentioned by Dr. Schaefer.

8. Dr. Schaefer indicates that one reason that Otto may have never married was his poor health. She also hints that Otto never had close relationships with women.

9. In my opinion the best book in English dealing with Otto's general theology and philosophy of religion is Robert F. Davidson, Rudolf Otto's Interpretation of Religion (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947). Davidson gives a clear exposition of the theological trends that fed into Otto in his first chapter, "Theological Heritage."

Two recent doctoral dissertations should be mentioned for their comprehensiveness and competence: Dr. R. Boeke, Divinatie met name bij Rudolf Otto (Leeuwarden: Fedde Dijkstra, 1957); Hans-Walter Schuette, Religion und Christentum in der Theologie Rudolf Ottos (Berlin Walter de gruyter and Co., 1969). This second work is important because it tries to put together much disparate material of Otto under the light of his own thought. Schuette shows Otto's dependence on Schleiermacher's thought. He also demonstrates Otto's attempt to resolve the mystery of religion by explaining the God-man relationship through the Spirit. This, along with Otto's thought in his book, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, gives the foundations of a Christian and humane ethic. This is what may be called mediation theology so much of interest to Otto.

A brief but very good summary of Otto's ideas on religious experience is found in Ninian Smart, Philosophers and Religious Truth (London: SCM Press LTD, 1964). In his chapter, "Rudolf Otto and Religious Experience," he goes beyond Otto to give his own criteria for religious experience, but the first part is an adequate summary of Otto's position.

An excellent summary of Otto's theological presuppositions and a synthesis of his theology is done by Otto's friend and colleague, Theodor Siegfried, in an essay entitled, "Grundfragen der Theologie bei Rudolf Otto" Marburger Theologische Studien, No. 7, ed. by Dr. Heinrich Frick (Gotha: Leopold Klotz, 1931). The 1931 series no's 1-7 was dedicated to Otto on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.

The first half of Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Kirche, is devoted to Rudolf Otto on the occasion of his death, March 6, 1937. The list of essays indicates the emphases of Otto's own theologizing:

-Rudolf Otto innerhalb der theologischen Situation, (Frick),
-Theologie als Religionswissenschaft bei R.O., (Siegfried),
-Grundriss und Grundfragen der theologischen Ethik R.O., (Wuensch)
-R.O. und die Religionsgeschichte, (Gerardus van der Leeuw),
-Dynamis Theou, Eine Studie zur urchristlichen Froemmigkeit, (Fascher),
-Christusglaube und Heilanderwartung, (Staerk),
-R.O.'s religionsgeschichtliche Arbeit, (Mensching),
-Luther und das Wort-Gottes-Problem, (Schuster),
-Otto's oekumenisches Interesse, (Mulert).

A brief introduction to Otto's thought and works is found in Joachim Wach, op. cit. Wach gives a brief but helpful survey of Otto's chief writings indicating the emphases of his thought during his academic career.

A brief description of the state of philosophy in Germany at the time of Rudolf Otto is given by Julius Seelye Bixler, "Rudolf Otto as a Religious Teacher," The Christian Century, (July 17, 1929), 913 f.

10. Dean G. Pearman and Martin E. Marty, eds., A Handbook of Christian Theologians (New York: The World Publishing Co., Meridian Books, 1965): Bernard E. Meland, "Rudolf Otto," p. 170.

For a comprehensive discussion of the notion of the religious *a priori* in Otto see John Morrison Morre, "The *A Priori* in Rudolf Otto's Theory of Religious Experience," *Theories of Religious Experience* (New York: Round Table Press, Inc., 1938), pp. 75-112.

There is also a brief discussion of Otto and the religious *a priori* in Eric C. Rust, *Positive Religion in a Revolutionary Time* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1970), pp. 107-118.

The most comprehensive and most definite work on the religious *a priori* in Rudolf Otto that I have seen is: Ansgar Paus, *Religiöser Erkenntnisgrund* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966). Paus treats of the religious *a priori* in Kant, Fries, Apelt, and Troeltsch before discussing it in Otto. His consideration of the origin and nature of the religious *a priori* in Otto is very complete. His bibliography on the subject is exhaustive.

11. For a treatment by Rudolf Otto of the *sensus numinis* in his theology see his article, "The Sensus Numinis as the Historical Basis of Religion," *The Hibbert Journal*, 30 (1931-32), Part 1: 283 ff; Part 2: 415 ff.

For a summary article by Otto on his notion of the holy see his "In the Sphere of the Holy," *The Hibbert Journal*, 31 (1932-33), 413 ff.

12. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Puprecht, 1898.

13. W. H. Van de Pol considers Otto the most outstanding theologian to continue in the tradition of Schleiermacher. His affinity with Schleiermacher is seen in his interest in mysticism, liturgy, and ecumenism. Van de Pol sums up Otto's position succinctly on page 143 of his book, *The End of Conventional Christianity* (New York: Newman Press, 1968);

> Starting from Kant's theory of knowing, and deeply convinced of the definitive end of the pre-Kantian, intellectualist metaphysics and its proofs of the existence of God, Otto tried to give a further and more detailed definition of the religious *a priori* proper to man as man. He formulated this *a priori* as the "Sacred." From Christian and non-Christian sources he tried to show how man, precisely because of the nature of his being-human, is open to intuitive impressions and all sorts of experiences concerning the mystery hidden behind reality. Every human who is really "human" has the awareness of the sacred. It is this capacity that enables man to break through the wall which separates the world of ideas from the world of the intellectually unknowable *Ding-an-sich* and have a real experience of the Sacred, the totally Other which cannot be contained in concepts and words but which precisely for this reason is all the more awe-inspiring.

14. *Ueber die Religion: Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Veraechtern* first appeared in 1799. For an English translation which contains Otto's introduction, see *On Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1958), trans. by John Oman. Otto's introduction was written in 1926.

15. *Die Christliche Glaube* first appeared in 1799. For an English translation see *The Christian Faith*, ed. by H. R. MacKintosh and J. S. Steward

XUM

(New York: Harper and Row, 1963). Introduction by Richard R. Niebuhr.

16. (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904). English translation: Naturalism and Religion (London: Williams and Norgate, 1907).

17. Otto emphasized his notion of discovering the origin of religion in experience and not in conceptual notions in his critique of the work of the psychologist, Wundt. See "The Sensus Numinis as the Historical Basis of Religion" referred to in footnote 11.

18. (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904). English translation: The Philosophy of Religion (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1931).

19. For the most part this meant the study of Eastern religions. Otto had almost no sense for the numinous in Roman Catholicism. Although on his journey in 1911-12 he could live in a Buddhist monastery, he could only polemicize against Roman Catholic monks. See his introductory remarks in his Chorgebete where he calls them the "bald heads of former times." I owe this information to Dr. Paula Schaefer who refers to this in her unpublished article written for me. From now on, this article will be referred to as Schaefer article. Otto's dislike of things Roman Catholic is also commented on by F. H. Brabant, "Worship in General," in Liturgy and Worship, ed. by W. K. Lowther and Charles Harris (London: SPCK, 1932), p. 14.

20. (Breslau, 1917) (25 Auflage; Muenchen: C. H. Beck, 1936). English translation: The Idea of the Holy, trans. by John W. Harvey (Oxford University Press, 1923). A Galaxy paperback book appeared in 1958.

Otto gives his reason for writing the Idea of the Holy in his book, India's Religion of Grace and Christianity, (see below for more details), p. 105: "This book had its origin in efforts to provide in my lectures for myself and my pupils an approach to the profoundest of all Christian intuitions which I perceived to be both indicated and concealed in the orthodox constructions of the doctrines of 'reconciliation,' and which did not seem to me to have been found in the essays of Ritschl on Justification and Reconciliation. I came to the result that 'expiation' will not admit of a theory which shall express its profoundest reasons in the formal concepts of logic. But what I 'conceived' was that we often in the depths of our souls 'understand' what we do not 'conceive' and about which we have no theory."

Otto got his first inspiration for his famous book, Das Heilige, when looking at the ever burning light in a mosque in Morocco. Shaefer article.

21. Wach, op. cit., p. 103, is of the opinion that Otto has not justified his claim that religious experience is directly cognitive. His objection is "if the structure of our experience is subjective, we have still to seek for the warrant for the claim that experience brings us into contact with objective reality."

22. Wach, op. cit., p. 220. He clearly indicates that Otto was starting with subjectivity in his analysis of the holy.

For a clear articulation of the two most frequent criticisms of Otto's position (namely, the radical separation of the holy and the moral and the holy and the rational) and an explanation of why Otto's particular concern with religious experience leaves itself open to these criticisms, see Charles A. Bennet, "Religion and the Idea of the Holy," Journal of Philosophy, 23 (August 19, 1926), 461-69.

A contemporary (to Otto) psychological criticism of Otto's idea of a distinctive category of the holy is given by J. C. Flower, An Approach to the Psychology of Religion (Longdon: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1927), pp. 229-30. "The numinous experience is essentially the frustration experience, and not an 'instinctive' response to a definite numinous object. It is a withdrawal reaction, but because there is no definitely envisaged situation to respond to, but a vaguely baffling situation which arouses the peculiar affect which underlies all first-hand religious experience, and is the background of all religious fantasy, imagination, and thought."

A negative reaction to Otto's separation of the religious category into the rational and non-rational is that of John Baillie, The Interpretation of Religion (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), pp. 246-55. In my opinion, Baille's criticism of Otto lacks depth. His own solution that there is no religious a priori and that Otto's awe is really the feeling aroused by power seems no more satisfactory than Otto's position.

Like Baillie, John Oman in his Natural and the Supernatural (New York: Macmillan, 1931), pp. 60-64, criticizes Otto for separating the holy from the ethical too completely.

Burnett Hillman Streeter in his The Budda and the Christ (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933) criticizes Otto's idea of the numinous as implying the subrational rather than the supra-natural. Cf. Appendix II: "The Idea of the Holy," pp. 312ff. Streeter's criticisms are superficial and vitiated by the fact that he restricts excessively the notion of the non-rational in Otto.

In defense of Otto it can be pointed out that he strongly believed that one must become a master of the rational before becoming a master of mystery. He is not interested in the merely strange and fantastic. William F. Lynch, S.J. says of Otto: "What attracts him are the striking, complex, unique ways in which the world gathers itself together into a fact, as though an infinite set of relations had succeeded in saying something." Christ and Prometheus (Notre Dame: U. of Notre Dame Press, 1970), p. 132.

For a sympathetic defense of Otto in the face of accusations that he is too subjectivistic and is opposed to interpreting divine nature in rational and ethic categories, see John Harvey's remarks in "Translator's Preface," pp. xv-xix of The Idea of the Holy, Galaxy paperback.

W. Schilling criticizes two authors, F. K. Feigel and W. Baetke, for not doing justice to Otto's work, especially Das Heilige. "Das Phänomen des Heiligen," Zeitschrift fuer Religion und Geistesgeschichte, 2 (1949-50), 206.

The most recent defense of Otto against the criticism that he separates religion and morality is that done by Jack Boozer (Emory University) in his paper for the American Academy of Religion meeting in Atlanta, Georgia (October 1971), "The Boundary between the ethical and the religious in Rudolf Otto's thought," Philosophy of Religion and Theology: 1971, ed. by David Griffin (Chambersburg, Pa.: American Academy of Religion, 1971). Boozer disagrees with Robert Davidson that the religious and the moral are irreparably separated in Otto's position. He says:

> It is the thesis of this paper that in the introduction to The Idea of the Holy and in his late essays, particularly in "Wert, Wuerde, und Recht," "Wertgesetz und Autonomie," "Pflicht und Neigung," and "Das Gefuehl der Verantwortlichkeit," Otto speaks quite clearly about the relation between morality and the will of God and between one's awareness of moral duty and his awareness of the holy. Otto's emphasis is upon a distinction within a relation between morality and religion, but he cannot legitimately be quoted in support of the "radical separation" of the moral and the religious." (p. 212).

Boozer shows that it is central to Otto's position that although ethics does not necessarily lead to religion, religion always implies ethics.

The Boozer paper is the best treatment in the English language concerning Otto's evolving throught on ethical questions, an evolution cut short by his death. This paper makes available some of the content of Otto's Freiheit und Notwendigkeit (Tuebingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1940) and his essays "Sittengesetz und Gotteswille" and "Der Gotteswille," both in the possession of the University library, Philips University at Marburg.

23. Marty and Peerman, op. cit., p. 178.

J. S. Whale in his chapter on "Calvin" in Christian Worship, ed. by Nathaniel Micklem (London: Oxford University Press, 1936) quotes Calvin in his critique of Otto's position, p. 163. "...de dire que nous puissons avoir dévotion, soit à prière, soit à cérémonie, sans y rien entendre, c'est une grande moquerie." (La forme des Prières: Epistre au Lecteur, OP vi 166).

24. A. E. Garvie, while giving the usual criticism of Otto that he detaches emotion from reason and conscience, says Otto corrected the denial by William James of any distinctive subjective or objective aspect of religion (Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 28). Cf. Christian Worship (cited in previous footnote), p. 5.

25. A treatment of the concept of the ideogram in Otto is found in Heinrich Frick, "Ideogramm, Mythologie und Das Wort," Marburger Theologische Studien, No. 3, p. 4 and 16.

26. Marty and Peerman, op. cit., quoted on page 108.

27. No attempt is made here to summarize adequately Otto's understanding of the nature of religious experience.

28. West-Öestliche Mystik (Gotha: L. Klotz, 1926). English translation: Mysticism East and West (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932). A Collier paperback appeared in 1962.

XUM

29. A good summary of Otto's idea of the numinous, especially as applied to worship in found in W. K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 13-28.

30. Husserl regarded Otto's *Idea of the Holy* as an application of his own phenomenological method to the study of religious phenomena. Cf. Marty and Peerman, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

31. Otto distinguishes his position from that of the phenomenologists in his article "In the Sphere of the Holy," The Hibbert Journal, 31 (1932-33). Cf. footnote 11. Otto stresses the objectivity of the numinous evaluations as opposed to the subjective phenomenological approach of the "creative" imagination. p. 413.

32. (Gotha: L. Klotz, 1930). English translation: *India's Religion of Grace and Christianity* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930).

This was followed by an inquiry into the Indo-European Pantheon in his book, *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1932).

33. See: *Die Urgestalt der Bhagavad-Gita* (Tuebingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1934). *Die Lehrtraktate der Bhagavad-Gita* (Tuebingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1935), *Der Sang des Hehr-Erhabenen*. *Die Bhagavad-Gita* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935). *The Original Gita: The Song of the Supreme Exalted One* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1939) is an English translation of Otto's studies on the Bhagavad Gita.

34. (Muenchen: C.H. Beck, 1934). English translation: *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Zondervan Press, 1938).

35. Bernard E. Meland claims this as one of the major contributions to the understanding of the New Testament theology and Christological thought. He says: "I would place it alongside Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1910-German edition: 1906), and Bultmann's *The Theology of the New* Testament (German edition: 1948) as being one of three successive landmarks in the study of the problem of eschatology in recent biblical theological thought." Marty and Peerman, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

36. See for instance, Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane* (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), pp. 8-10. (German: 1957).

37. Marty and Peerman, *op. cit.* p. 187. John Harvey in his preface to his translation of *The Idea of the Holy* says that Otto never attempted to found a school. His influence cut across denominational lines emphasizing more what religious men have in common, rather than what divides them. Also he was more the religious philosopher than the dogmatic theologian. P. xi.

38. Marty and Peerman, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

39. For instance, Emil Brunner, *The Philosophy of Religion* (New York: C. Scribner's, 1937), p. 104. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics I* (New York: Scribners, 1936), Part I, p. 153.

XUM

The theology of Rudolf Otto was about to take over the Protestant world when Barth with his Commentary on Romans and Brunner with his Mysticism and the Word caused a copernican revolution in theology and aborted Otto's influence theology. For Barth and Brunner the foundation of faith can be God alone and not any human capacity. See Van de Pol, op. cit., p. 143-4.

40. J. D. Davies maintains that although criticism has been leveled at Otto's position, and his picture has been supplemented by attention given to important rational elements, "his basic thesis has been generally accepted." Davies questions Otto's methodology of beginning with man's experience and then deducing certain predicates which are then ascribed to the object which is supposed to have produced the experience. But it may be that there are natural explanations for these experiences. "Otto's analysis does not determine whether or not the 'wholly otherness of God' is no more than a description of what is not yet intelligible in scientific terms" (p. 226). Davies' critique is one of the most incisive brief ones I have seen. See his book, The Secular Use of Church Buildings (New York: Seabury Press, 1968), p. 224 ff.

41. A new book has just appeared at the time of this writing indicating Otto's place in contemporary theology. Ernst Benz, ed., Rudolf Otto's Bedeutung fuer die Religionswissenschaft und die Theologie heute (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971). Contributing editors are: Reinhard Schinzer, Gustav Mensching, Soren Holm and Gotthard Nygren.

42. Marty and Peerman, op. cit., quoted on p. 190.

43. See: Marty and Peerman, op. cit., p. 190. When describing Tillich's notion of the holy, J. L. Adams observes: "One is reminded here of Otto's description of the numinous. Tillich seems to be saying that the holy involves a complex of that which is 'other,' of the ecstatic, the 'fascinating,' and the awesome." Paul Tillich's Philosophy of Culture, Science, and Religion (New York: Harper and Row, 1965, Schocken Paperback, 1970), p. 228.

For some brief remarks on the influence of Otto on Tillich, see Ernest Werner, "Protestant Transformations," The American Scholar, 35 (Summer, 1966), 452 ff.

Tillich criticizes Otto for failing to express the essential relation between the mysterium and the rational forms. See his article, "Die Kategorie des Heiligen bei R. Otto," Theologische Blaetter, (1923), 11.

Tillich says that Otto's view splits the consciousness and prevents us as total human personalities from experiencing the holy. J. L. Adams, op. cit., p. 74. Tillich also says that Otto's notion of 'wholly other' can have little significance for man. He does, however, praise Das Heilige for its description of religious experience and "for its overcoming of the rational rigidities and burdens of the ecclesiastical and of the idealistic-philosophical mentalities." See p. 220.

Otto says of Tillich: "The expectation of the καιρός, the moment of the 'irruption' from above of judgement and the establishment of the kingdom and the desire to explain the signs of the times from the point of view of the καιρός, gives today its especial note to the theology of Paul Tillich, and thereby he preserves, in spite of his surprising expressions about the 'Superbeing' whose 'symbolical word' God and Christ are, a decidedly more Christian position than many of his critics." India's Religion of Grace and Christianity, p. 71.

44. Marty and Peerman, op. cit., p. 191.

45. Cf. Jack R. Sibley, "Rudolf Otto as a Precusor of Process Theology," Encounter, 30 (1969), 238-9. Sibley analyzes Otto's theology in terms of process theology. He comes to the conclusion that "in his own way R. Otto was a precusor of many of the insights which have gone into process theology."

It should be noted here that in his Religious Essays (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), an English translation of some of the material from some of Otto's works such as Aufsaetze das Numinose betreffend, Das Gefuehl des Ueberweltlichen, and Suende und Urschuld, Otto says that if pan-en-theism aims merely at expressing the "intimacy of the relationship between all that is finite and God," he has no problem with it. P. 134.

46. A clear and accurate survey of the Roman Catholic liturgical movement is found in an essay of Massey H. Shepherd, "The History of the Liturgical Renewal," The Liturgical Renewal of The Church, ed. by Massey H. Shepherd (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960). It is worth quoting in full his division of the history of the modern liturgical movement.

> To date, the liturgical revival in the Roman Church has exhibited three major phases or periods, though one must always bear in mind that each of these phases rests one upon the other, and that the peculiar interests of each period are carried over and extended into that which follows it.
>
> The first of these three periods may be described as the recovery of the Church's true liturgical tradition. It is a time when leaders are primarily concerned with the history and authority of the Church's official liturgical rites as they have been inherited from the past. The second phase of the movement opens when this work of historical restoration is transmitted to clergy and lay leaders of the Church through an organized program of education in the meaning of the liturgy and its place in the total life of the Church. This second phase moves inevitably into the third, the practical application of a true liturgical spirit and life among all the faithful--what has been called the Pastoral-Liturgical Apostolate. Yet it must be emphasized again that the work of the first two phases continues with increased momentum into the third and contemporary phase. pp. 23-4.

I would add that now we are passing from the third phase into a fourth. If we use the Second Vatican Council as a dividing point, we can say that we are now in a fourth period characterized by experimentation and acculturation as far as the forms of worship are concerned. Liturgiology, today, has become less purely historical in its emphasis and tends to be interdisciplinary, using the data of psychology, sociology, anthropology, as well as theology. This is a period of creativity rather than the recovery of tradition.

W. Barden, "Phases of the Liturgical Movement," Studies in Pastoral Liturgy, 2 ed. by P. Murray (Maynooth: The Furrow Trust, 1961).

T. Bolger et al., Liturgische Erneuerung in aller Welt, ein Sammelbericht (Maria Laach: ars Liturgica, 1950).

A good survey of the Roman Catholic liturgical movement by a Lutheran observer is: E. Koenker, The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1954).

See H. Schmidt, Introductio in Liturgiam Occidentalem (Rome: Herder, 1960) for important bibliography.

A brief but adequate discussion of the liturgical movement, the fundamental ideas of the liturgical revival, and the principal advances made is found in The Liturgical Movement by The Sacerdotal Communities of St. Severin of Paris and St. Joseph of Nice, a volume in the 20th Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1964).

47. For a discussion of Gueranger's contribution to the liturgical movement see L. Alting von Geusau, ed., Liturgy in Development (London: Sheed and Ward, 1965).

Probably the best brief historical survey of the Roman Catholic liturgical movement in the 19th century is O. Rousseau, The Progress of the Liturgy (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1951). See also L. Sheppard, The Peoples' Worship, a History of the Liturgical Movement (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1967).

For a critical evaluation of the beginnings of the liturgical movement, see: Louis Bouyer, Liturgical Piety (Notre Dame: Notre Dame U. Press, 1950).

48. Tra le sollecitudini (November 22, 1903), p. 12-13.

49. Some would date the 20th century Roman Catholic liturgical movement with the Catholic Congress in Malines in 1909, presided over by Cardinal Mercier, when Dom Lambert proposed the production of a vernacular missal and parish retreats for parish choirs in order to study chant. L. Bouyer, op. cit., p. 58.

50. He stressed the social character of the liturgy as a means of bringing the faithful together and counteracting secularism.

51. August 1911 marks the first liturgical week held at Mont César in an attempt to interest the clergy in the liturgy. The movement in Belgium was closely connected with the Catholic social action groups. It should also be noted that the first experiment in the dialogue-mass was made in Belgium. And the First International Liturgical Congress was held at Antwerp in 1930.

52. L. Beauduin's main liturgical work is Liturgy, the Life of the Church (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1929). See also, L. Bouyer, Dom Lambert Beauduin (Tournai: Casterman, 1964).

53. Maria Laach began its liturgical weeks for laymen in 1914. By the end of World War I the monks had begun a series of popular and scholarly publications on the liturgy called *Ecclesia Orans*. It began with the famous contribution of Romano Guardini, *Von Geist der Liturgie*, *The Spirit of the Liturgy* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1930). Guardini, although a great scholar, introduced the liturgical revival into the Catholic youth movements until the rise of Nazism.

Maria Laach also sponsored two scholarly series: *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen* (for the editing of ancient liturgical texts and monographs on liturgical subjects) and the *Jahrbuch fuer Liturgiewissenschaft* (which contains scholarly articles and extensive annotated bibliographies of liturgical materials in all languages). The editor of the latter was Dom Odo Casel.

54. He did this by publishing his penny magazines: *Lebe mit der Kirche* and *Bible und Liturgie*.

55. Benard E. Meland, *Modern Man's Worship* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934). In his chapter, "Awakenings in Modern Catholicism," Meland surveys the various movements in German Catholicism up to 1934. The liturgical movement is included along with the various youth movements, the new emphasis on the bible, the interest in social and political movements on the part of Catholics, the growing appreciation for Luther by Catholic scholars, and the negative reactions to scholasticism and the Vatican One notion of infallibility. At the time of his writing, Rome was taking a restrictive attitude toward all these movements. Meland says: "Thus it would seem that the present renascence within Catholicism is to be doomed by the same inevitable force that has persistently stamped out all previous efforts to vitalize Roman Catholicism." (P. 122). Thirty years later, all these movements would receive approbation at the Second Vatican Council.

56. A brief but well documented summary of the European liturgical movement in the Protestant churches is found in Friedrich Heiler, "Die liturgisch-sakramentalen Erneuerungsbestrebungen in Protestantismus," *Eine Heilige Kirche*, 28 (1955-56), p. 32-64. Heiler indicates the directions of Anglican, Lutheran and Calvinistic liturgical movements in most of the European countries. He concludes his article with a list of dangers of the liturgical movement: ecclesiasticism, dogmaticism, legalism, clericalism, Romanism, and playing with the liturgy. But his real concern is to indicate attempts to strengthen sacramental life in Protestantism.

57. A good treatment of the Anglican liturgical revival in the 19th century is found in Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England. From Newman to Martineau*, 1850-1900 (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1962).

A thorough treatment of the various aspects of the Oxford Movement and the Catholic Revival in England is found in N. P. Williams and Charles Harris, eds., *Northern Catholicism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933).

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58. A good treatment of the entire history of Anglican worship can be found in G.J. Cuming, A History of Anglican Liturgy (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969). The bibliography is quite comprehensive for further work in this area.

59. Heiler's best known works in English are: The Spirit of Worship (New York: George Doran, 1926) and Prayer, A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion (London: Oxford U. Press, 1932). See chapter one of the first book for a description of the liturgical revival of Heiler's time.

F. Heiler's contribution to the German liturgical movement is described in chapter V of Meland, op. cit., pp. 90 ff.

Dr. Schaefer recounts that Heiler, like Otto, was a scholar of Indian religions and old Indian languages. Both had a special love for Buddhism. Otto saw Heiler as a successor for his chair of the history of religions at Marbug U. The goal of Heiler's work was the same as Otto's: to fill the emptiness in Protestantism due to the lack of adoration and in this way to prepare for the unification of Christians. Like Otto he was mystical in character. Unlike Otto he carried in himself all the heritage of Catholic mysticism. Heiler embraced many of the ideas of reform for Catholicism later instituted by the Second Vatican Council. He was harassed by Rome in his time and under the impression of the personality of Archbishop Soederblom he became a Lutheran. While still at the end of his twenties, he was elected president of the High Church Movement. Schaefer article.

60. (Bonn: Marcus and E. Weber, 1926. 3rd edition: Berlin, 1955).

61. Translation by A. G. Hebert (London: S.P.C.K., 1930)

62. A brief treatment of liturgical reform in both the Roman and Evangelical churches is found in Mueller and Blankenburg, eds. Leiturgia (Kassel: Johannes Stauda, 1954), 73 ff.

63. (London, 1644). For a complete text of the Directory in modern spelling see Thomas Leishman, The Westminster Directory (London: Blackwood, 1901).

64. See William D. Maxwell, A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1955).

The Catholic Revival in the Dutch and Scottish churches is related in Northern Catholicism (see note 57) in Chapter 15: "The High Church Movement in the Dutch Reformed Church," and Chapter 16: "Catholic Ideals in the Church of Scotland."

65 (Strasbourg: Maison d'edition de L'imprimerie Strasbourgeosie, Librairie Istra, 1925).

66. For liturgical developments among the Calvinistic churches of France and Switzerland, see J. D. Benoit, Liturgical Renewal (London: S.C.M. Press, 1958) and Chapter Six of Meland, op. cit.

67. B. Meland, op. cit., p. 106-7.

For a contemporary treatment of the liturgy from a psychological approach, see D. R. Hupfeld, Zur Psychologie des Gottesdienstes (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1927). Hupfeld has a negative reaction to Otto's approach.

68. For this section I am especially indebted to the following article: G. Clarence Lund, "The Modern Liturgical Movement in German Protestantism," Anglican Theological Review, 12 (April, 1930), 229ff.

69. An indispensable source for a description of the German Luthern liturgical movement during the time of Otto is the work of Otto's colleague, Gustav Mensching, Die liturgische Bewegung in der evangelischen Kirche (Tuebingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1925). Other important references are:

Friedrich Heiler, Katholischer und evangelischer Gottesdienst (Muenchen, 1921) and Friedrich Niebergall, Der evangelischen Gottesdienst in Wandel der Zeiten (Leipzig, 1925).

An assessment of the German Lutheran Liturgical Movement around the year 1933 can be found in Brich Hoyer, Die liturgische Not der Gegenwart und ihre Ueberwindung (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1934). This monograph is the result of the Lower Saxony Liturgical Conference. The essay deals with the liturgical situation of the time, describes some of the tasks of liturgical renewal and outlines a plan for community effort for attaining the goals of the movement.

A comprehensive bibliography concerning the German liturgical movement of this period is found in Leiturgia, 1 (1954), 93-4.

70. In a sense, it included an attempt at a German counterpart of the Book of Common Prayer. John Harvey in his introduction of his translation of Das Heilige remarks that Otto thought that the B.C.P. accounted for the fact that England was such a religious country and was anxious to produce a B.C.P. for the German people. Idea of the Holy, Galaxy Paperbacks, p. xiii.

71. Some of the reasons for the rigidity of the Lutheran liturgy at the time of Otto are given by Friedrich Heiler in his The Spirit of Worship, p. 92 ff. Heiler observed that the operating principle for the 19th century Lutheran liturgist was restoration in terms of the Early Church and the century of the Reformation.

72. Otto first expressed his concern with this emphasis in his notion of holy silence. Cf. "Silent Worship," Appendix 8 of The Idea of the Holy, Galaxy paperback, p. 210.

Of this tendency Friedrich Heiler wrote:

> Everywhere there is awakening the realization that the church is something more than an external institution for fostering the religious and moral life; more than the sum-total of Christian individuals; the Church of Christ is, above all, a Unity, a metaphysically-mystic "Grosse," literally one body through union with Christ. (From Heiler, Katholischer und evangelischer Gottesdienst,

p. 9. Translated and printed in Meland, op. cit., p. 67.)

73. Lund, op. cit., p. 301.

74. For a more detailed discussion see chapter three, "New Trends in Liturgy among German Protestants," Meland, op. cit., p. 63 ff.
See also Mensching, op. cit., p. 13 ff.

75. Regarding the German liturgical movement, Prof. D. Dr. Theodor Siegfried in a personal letter to me dated Feb. 20, 1970 wrote:

> Seit Anfang der zwanziger Jahre gingen hier einige Bewegungen parallel, welche von aussen wenigstens einander gerade wegen dieser Affinitaet allerlei Spannungen und vielleicht gar ein Gefuehl der Unvereinbarkeit gegeben. Es handelt sich vor allem un die Berneuchner Bewegung, welche von Karl Bernhard Ritter gefuehrt war, um einen engeren Kreis derselben, die Michaelsbruderschaft, und um den Kreis "Eine Heilige Kirche" von Friedrich Heiler. Alle diese Kreise arbeiten und wirken bis zur gegenwaertigen Stunde und praktizieren ihre liturgischen Versuche auch in (der Oeffentlich zugaenglichen) Gottesdiensten.

76. Meland, op. cit., p. 68.

77. Meland, loc. cit., refers to the work of Adolf Heinemann in Monatsschrift fuer Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst as well as that of Pfarrer Niemann (Feiernde Gemeinde, ed. Goehling, p. 55) and Pfarrer Koch (Monatsschrift fuer Gottesdienst u. kirch. Kunst, p. 123 ff, 1921).

78. See René Wallau,"Gottesdienst-religioeses Spiel-Symbolbehaundlung," Feiernde Gemeinde, p. 69.

79. See Michaelis, MGKK (1922), 203ff; and "liturgischer Katechismusgottesdienst," Feiernde Gemeinde, pp. 229ff.

80. As in the work of Pfarrer Horn of Berlin in Feiernde Gemeinde, pp. 341 ff.

81. Actually, the German High Church movement dates back to the publication of 95 theses in 1917, the Jubilee year of the Reformation, by Pastor Hansen of Schleswig calling for a return to the Catholic Church (not to be totally identified with "Roman" Catholic).

82. See Heiler, The Spirit of Worship, p. 12, for more details.

83. Quoted in Meland, op. cit., p. 72 from Martin Schian. Die Reform des Gottesdienstes und die hoch kirchliche Bewegung, trans. by Meland (Giessen: Toepelmann, 1922), p. 3-4.

84. Heiler, Northern Catholicism, p. 484.

85. See especially, Heiler, "Die liturgische-sakramentalen Erneuerungsbestrubungen im Protestantismus," and the whole volume of Northern Catholicism.

86. Meland, op. cit., p. 73-4, from Mensching, op. cit., p. 12. See also Northern Catholicism, p. 482. On page 483 of the same article Heiler says that the most important creation of the High Church Movement at this time was the foundation of the Evangelical Catholic Eucharistic Society in 1930, a group almost totally Roman Catholic in practice and belief yet retaining a deep devotion to Lutheranism.

87. Dr. Schaefer in her article says "Because of the Catholic elements in the High Church movement, it was persecuted by the Protestants."

88. Meland, op. cit., p. 75.

89. Schaefer article. Meland, op. cit., p. 91 gives a description of Heiler's service:

> Each Saturday (this conflicts with Schaefer who claims it was Sunday) evening at eight o'clock he conducts vesper services in a little old ivy-covered chapel in a secluded cemetery, just across from the ancient Gothic Elizabethkirche in Marburg. The chapel is not large enough to accommodate more than thirty or forty worshipers. The interior is very crude. As the timeworn, loosely constructed wind organ in the rear balcony grinds out hymns, centuries old, one imagines himself worshiping in a village peasant church. Here small groups of town and university folk come together with Friedrich Heiler for meditation and worship. Heiler's preaching, like his lecturing, is direct and simple, but full of the man. His own grasp of life and his profoundly sensitive religious nature give to his utterances and his acts of worship an integrity that only the pure in heart can reveal.

90. See Meland, op. cit., "Friedrich Heiler and the Lutheran High Church Movement," p. 90 ff. for an assessment of Heiler, especially with reference to his ecclesiology.

91. Ibid., p. 96.

92. Cf. Heiler, Prayer.

93. Meland, op. cit., p. 99.

94. Loc. cit.

95. Ibid., p. 100.

96. Loc. cit. Heiler's reasons for this conviction was that the Lutheran Church had placed an emphasis on doctrine, especially the Catholic doctrine of the sacrament and that it had preserved the liturgical traditions in a purer form than had the Anglican Church.

97. Meland, op. cit., p. 70 claims that the past subjectivism of the German youth gave way to an attitude focused on nature and the objective.

98. Loc. cit.

99. Leiturgia, 1, 78.

100. It was called Berneuchen from the place where its first meeting was held.

101. The group included such clergymen as Heitmann, Ritter, Staehlin, and several professors and parish priests.

102. Schaefer article.

103. In Northern Catholicism, Heiler claimed that the Berneuchen Movement was growing close to the High Church Movement, despite its radical Protestant starting point. P. 486.

104. For an assessment of Otto's place in the German liturgical movement, see chapter four of Meland, op. cit.

105. Dr. Schaefer says that the liturgy of the Word in the Reformed and Lutheran services became so prominent that the Eucharist was relegated to insignificance. Otto realized that the adoration aspect was missing, that the community was not actively involved, but was listening to a lecture. Schaefer article.

See also, Idea of the Holy, appendix 8: "Silent Worship."

106. Mrs. Schaefer says that Otto's Saturday evening services were Evening Prayer. Schaefer article.

107. The Hanover tradition still recognized the use of the altar and altar lights. Otto accepts these practices, although he does not regard them as essential. They may be omitted if they are an obstacle to anyone's worship.

108. Paula Schaefer, a long time observer of the liturgical movement in Germany, attended these services regularly for a year. She has been for years one of the main promoters of the High Church movement in her native land.

109 Later when the young vicar left, the liturgy at St. Jost stopped. Schaefer correspondence.

110. Regarding the idea of removing certain verses of the psalms because they belong to an inferior spiritual state of Israel, see: Richard Paquier, Dynamics of Worship (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), p. 211, ftnote 10.

111. Schaefer article.

112. Meland, op. cit., p. 76.

113. Lund, op. cit., p. 76.

114. While Otto was doing what he could to insert the element of adoration in the Lutheran liturgy, a High Church committee in Berlin tried at the same time to alleviate the problem of over didacticism in the liturgy. They did not base themselves on Otto, but rather returned to the old but rich liturgical formulae of Reformation times. Schaefer article.

115. The aim of Otto's branch of the liturgical reformation in Germany called for continual experimentation. It was against a settled rite, even a new one. Otto said:

> The time for settling and establishing certain forms is not by any means at hand -- above all else this is no movement of deciding and legislating. In the next place much greater opportunity should be given for the worshiper's creative art to express itself. The way to renewed liturgical enrichment lies between stark formalism of the past and an ungoverned freedom, by the creating of new lesser services and the changing, as experience approves, of the major services which are established by canon or custom.

See: Lund, op. cit., p. 309.

116. This is another example of the Post-War emphasis on the objective in man's relationship with God.

117. Ibid., p. 306.

118. Chapter two will deal with this lectionary in detail. Neues Evangelienbuch is the title of the German translation.

119. Meland, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

120. Lund, op. cit., p. 308.

121. Yngve Brilioth, Eucharistic Faith and Practice, p. 150. Heiler once told Dr. Schaefer that what she was looking for in Otto's service was the sacrament. Under the influence of Mrs. Heiler, Dr. Schaefer made a retreat in an Anglican monastery. After the first eucharistic service there, she was certain she had found what she had been looking for.

Later she realized as did the whole High Church movement, that only a return of the sacrifice of Christ in each liturgy would remove the emptiness and lack of adoration found in the Protestant services. It was probably the Catholic heritage of Heiler that accounted for this kind of breakthrough. This has caught on in German Protestantism and the Eucharist is more frequently celebrated. In the Evangelical Ecumenical Society, the successor of the High Church movement and the Berneuchen Circle, such a practice is the rule. All this according to Schaefer article.

122. Personal letter from Dr. Talley of Nashotah House, Wisconsin, dated: April 14, 1969.

123. Das Wesen des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1926), p. 10.

124. Le Culte, p. 433. Speaking of Otto's liturgical reforms, Will says:

> Ce culte tend également et avant tout à l'adoration. Mais le but religieus en détermine aussi les moyens phénoménaux, dans le sens negatif, il est vrai. L'adoration s'y accomplit au moyen non d'un enrichissement, mais d'un appauvrissement voulu des formes cultuelles. Le silence et le vide sont le symbole et l'enveloppe de sentiments metaphysiques, l'absence de rites et de gestes, d'ornements et de manifestations artistiques communiquant à ce culte un état d'ame spiritualiste et mystique, (pp. 8-9).

Although Will tended to be Barthian in his emphasis on the Word of God, still in his own liturgy he followed Otto in that he made use of silent worship. Will's service is very similar to Otto's. In both cases the sermon which is de-emphasized is the concluding act of the liturgy of the Word. And in both, the second part of the service stresses adoration rather than instruction. Both are good examples of reforms in Protestant liturgies which do not go to the extent of the High Church movement where the Eucharist becomes the center of ritual.

But there is one major difference in Will's liturgy. After the "Sacrament of Silence," he adds a third part, a call to action, which takes up the theme of the liturgy of the Word and makes the transition from the contemplative part of the service to actual Christian living and secular life. If the gospel is the center of the first part, the silence of the second, the Lord's Prayer is the center of the third. Will does this to balance the elements of adoration and edification, a balance he finds lacking in Otto's services.

Actually, however, Otto does emphasize the Word of God and the basic elements of Our Father and the Blessing of Will's third part are found in the silent worship part of Otto's models. It is true that Will adds scripture reading to his third part. See: Meland, op. cit., Chapter six.

125. Personal letter dated May 12, 1969.
Dr. Piepkorn is Graduate Professor of Systematic Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

126. Loc. cit.

127. Personal letter dated Oct. 24, 1969. Niebergall states:

> Es ist richtig, dass Otto mit seinen Vorstellungen des evangelischen Gottesdienstes so gut wie keinen nachaltigen Einfluss ausgeuebt hat. Dies haengt in erster Linie damit zusammen, dass in den zwanziger und dreissiger Jahren die dialektische theologie und die Luther-Renaissance in Deutchland bestimmend waren. Rudolf Otto befand sich in einem gewissen Gegensatz zu der damâligen vorherrschenden theologie. Vielfach wurden seine Versuche als zu aesthetisch und damit als gemeindefern und wirklichkeitsfremd betrachtet.

It is the judgement of Rudolf Staehlin that the psychological and aesthetic form of liturgical renewal begun by Otto was swept away by the theological movement begun by Karl Barth. Referring to Otto's work he succinctly states: "Sie ist heute als ueberhold anzusehen." *Leiturgia*, 1, p. 77.

128. *Loc. cit.*

129. Dr. Schaefer, herself closely connected with the High Church movement in Germany, says in a personal letter dated Sept. 10, 1969, that Otto, being a liberal theologian, was not one of the founders of this movement, but he did help prepare the way for it.

130. In speaking of the difference between Otto and the other German liturgical movements, Dr. Siegfried (personal letter of Feb. 20, 1970). says:

> ...ein wesentlicher Unterschied zwischen den genannten Kreisen und den Ideen Rudolf Otto's besteht darin, dass Otto sehr neuchtern und wohl gar in überspitzt polemischer Weise den "profanen" character seines Bemuehens unterstricht.

131. (Giessen: A. Toepelmann, 1925). This monograph has not been translated. Friedrich Heiler wrote a review of this work. Although he greets the book with enthusiasm, he reveals his own High church proclivities when he says that whoever rejects all that is old and traditional, all dogmas, all sacramental cult, whoever wants to be only a preacher rather than a priest will find in Otto's work what he needs. Theologische Blätter, (1926), 13.

132. From now on referred to as *Erneuerung*.

133. In his personal letter, Dr. Siegfried said that Otto's book came like a comet from heaven.

134. This series was instigated to bridge the gap between the pastors and teachers of religion on the one hand, and the scientific approach of the university on the other - the idea being that by means of monographs and books incorporating high class scientific reports concerning the latest theological positions and research individuals could deepen their own education. This series was concerned especially with the areas of practical theology and liturgical reform.

Practical Theology Series
1. 1924: *Moderne Evangelization*-Niebergall
2. 1925: *Zur Erneuerung und Ausgestaltung des Gottesdienstes*-R. Otto
3. 1925: (Second edition, 1928) *Chorgebete fuer Kirche, Schule und Hausandacht*-R. Otto
4. 1925: *Vom Wesen der Neuen Gemeinde*-Heitmann
5. 1927: *Das Religioese in der neuesten lyrischen Dictung*-W. Knevels
6. 1927: *Religionswissenschaft und Psychanalyse*-Pfister
7. 1927: *Der Gottesdienst der Synagoge*-Else Schubert-Christaller

This series was reorganized in 1930 and in 1940.

History of Religion Series

1. 1924: Die Bedeutung des Leidens im Buddhismus und Christentum-Mensching
2. 1927: Mission oder Propaganda?-Frick
3. 1928: Das Christentum im Kreise der Weltreligionen-Mensching
4. 1928: Die Evangelische Weltmission-Witte.

Old Testament Series

1. 1924: Das Buch Daniel-Baumgartner
2.

New Testament Series

1. 1925: Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien-Bultmann

Philosophy of Religion Series

1. 1926: Friedrich Nietzsche und das Christentum-Odenwald
2. 1926: Vom Gott im Menschen-Bruhn

135. Otto notes that he has already addressed himself to these liturgical problems in such periodicals as Die Christliche Welt and Theologische Blaetter. He makes further reference to his writings in "Kirchenmusik" in Fr. Thimme's Revolution und Kirche, and in Goehling's Feiernde Gemeinde. He also refers to the preface which he wrote for Linderholm's Neues Evangelienbuch.

136. In my analysis of Erneuerung I shall remain as close to the German text as possible. But because of the repetitious character of Otto's writing in this work, a great deal of re-arranging will be necessary.

137. This section on more general considerations is not unrelated to Otto's liturgical ideas. Because of the way Otto's interest in worship developed, one cannot understand his attitude toward the liturgy except in light of his more comprehensive concerns regarding the renewal of religion.

138. Erneuerung, p. 1.

139. Ibid., p. 3.

140. Otto reflects the social status conditions of the Germany of his own time when he speaks of masses, proletariat, middle class and the like.

141. Ibid., p. 4.

142. Ibid., p. 5.

143. Ibid., p. 6.

144. Ibid., p. 7.

145. Ibid., p. 8.

146. Ibid., p. 12.

147. Ibid., p. 13.

148. Ibid., p. 15.

149. Loc. cit.

150. Ibid., p. 10.

151. Loc. cit.

152. Ibid., p. 11.

153. Otto had his own services on Saturday evening.

154. However, some of Otto's experiments reached comical proportions. For instance he composed a Sunday service for miners during which the church was illuminated by means of miners' lamps and coal bricks and miners' hammers were placed on the altar. Schaefer article.

155. Otto refers to the German situation of his time.

156. Erneuerung, p. 19.

157. Ibid., p. 20.

158. Ibid., p. 21.

159. Ibid., p. 22.

160. This section is not an attempt to reconstruct Otto's liturgical theology. That is the concern of Chapter Three of this thesis.

161. Ibid., p. 55.

162. Otto also says that one could use the word High Mass, for either main or secondary services, if it were not loaded with so many Catholic connotations.

163. Ibid., p. 23.

164. Ibid., p. 24.

165. Ibid., p. 25.

166. Ibid., p. 36. Although Otto continues to maintain that Protestantism is the Church of the Word, he does play down the prominence of the sermon in his services.

167. Ibid., p. 27.

168. Ibid., p. 29.

169. In Zwingli's set-up the reader and the assistant are taken from among

the members of the congregation and the congregation takes over the part of the choir.

170. Goehling, Feiernde Gemeinde, p. 33.

171. Erneuerung, p. 30.

172. Ibid., p. 31.

173. Ibid., p. 32.

174. The German word is Aufwaertspsalm.

175. Ibid., p. 54.

176. Ibid., p. 57.

177. The Emporpsalm might refer to any psalm sung by the choir.

178. Ibid., p. 51.

179. According to Otto every prayer service should have the identical climatic point: the Lord's Prayer.

180. Ibid., p. 36.

181. Ibid., p. 30.

182. Ibid., p. 56. Otto called attention to the fact that most Prostestant Churches lacked the experience of the mysterious presence of God in their services, a sense that he found in the Quaker's service and in the Roman Catholic Mass. In his Idea of the Holy he wrote:

> No form of devotion which does not offer or achieve this mystery for the worshipper can be perfect or can give lasting contentment to a religious mind. And it is just because our usual divine services fall short in this that we see today again--quite comprehensibly--such a ferment and stirring of all sorts of uneasy "High Church," "Ritualistic," and "Sacramental" movements, (quoted in Meland, op. cit., p. 76).

Otto admits that what he is after is a sacramental expression like the Catholic Mass. But he disassociated his service from the Mass completely since for him it was the sacrificial act of one priest. His basic liturgical principle in this was to achieve the sense of mystery for the worshipper without sacrificing the distinctive elements of the Protestant principle of worship.

183. Ibid., p. 34.

184. Meland, op. cit., p. 83.

185. Loc. cit.

186. Erneuerung, p. 33.

187. Loc. cit.

188. At this point Otto feels compelled to make a distinction between High Churchism and ritualism. For him, High Church implies: church authority, prelacy, hierarchical institution, sacred office, apostolic succession, priesthood, distinction between clergy and laity. Whereas examples of ritualism are: the worship of the synogogue, the community cult of Islam, the Lord's Supper of Zwingli. They are not examples of the High Church concept. Rather they are group activities of living congregations. In these activities the place of the prayer service leader is almost non-essential. Yet the cultic activity of a group or congregation requires a simple rite in which this activity can be expressed. This is one reason for introducing trained elders as prayer leaders. Another reason is to introduce the lay person into the service of the Church.

189. Presbyter does not have here the same meaning as it does in the Anglican and Roman Catholic traditions. What Otto means by these notions of deacon and presbyter is what is called in Holland, Vorganger, which might be translated as presider. He has his special place in Calvinistic worship. Otto dislikes the word, liturgist, for the one who leads the worship.

190. Perhaps a respected member of the town council or a capable member of the congregation, preferably a teacher and especially a music teacher. In this way the position of the teacher could be integrated into the functions of the Church.

191. Ibid., p. 34.

192. Otto recommends choir garb. He makes note of the fact that in America even the Congregationalists wear choir gowns. Thus, he says, such gowns are not "Catholic" but "festal." These young men and woman do not see anything "Catholic" in their gowns. Colorful gowns fit the young, but older people should wear something more conservative. Ibid., p. 51.

193. Ibid., p. 52.

194. Religious Essays, p. 53. Dr. Schaefer says that Otto had a sense of the numinous in the Lord's Supper, but he never recognized it as at the heart of the Church. He rather expended his energies on his preaching services with the Silent Worship. In some sense, silence replaced the Eucharist for Otto. I have already referred to Dr. Schaefer's conversation with F. Heiler in the Spring of 1927 when he told her that what she was looking for in Otto's services was the Eucharist.

195. Religious Essays, p. 59.
This is only a summary of Otto's principles behind his ideas of reform of the Eucharist. A developed description of his eucharistic theology will be given in Chapter Three.

196. For Otto only one secondary meaning is allowable in the Eucharist: to build up the Christian community where men can come together to overcome their disunity and where they are able to consecrate their bond by this meal.

197. Erneuerung, p. 49.

198. Religious Essays, p. 60.

199. Ibid., p. 51-2.

200. Erneuerung, p. 50.

201. Loc. cit.

202. Otto chides his Protestant brethren that although they speak much of the priesthood of the laity, the fact is that when the minister is absent, their lay worship is often very clumsy. On the other hand, Catholics know how to help themselves when a priest is absent since they have the rosary and litanies. Anglican families are able to fashion their home devotions from the Book of Common Prayer. If one is on a German ship, a Sunday Service is possible only if there is a minister on board, while on English ships, one of the officers or a layman can do a service. Since each Anglican is acquainted with the wealth of psalmody in the Prayer Book a simple service without a priest can be held without any difficulty.

203. For Otto "Fathers" refer to those not only who lived in the Patristic age but to contemporary writers also.

204. Ibid., p. 51.

205. Ibid., p. 26.

206. Ibid., p. 38.

207. Loc. cit. Although Otto finds a place for the polyphonic choir in the liturgy, he fears that the nature of this kind of singing--usually the sung text cannot be understood--will turn the liturgy into a concert.

208. Ibid., p. 39.

209. Loc. cit.

210. Ibid., p. 40.

211. A non-liturgical function of psalmody is that it would counteract the sweet Marian-lieder of the Youth movement. Ibid., p. 53.

212. Ibid., p. 42.

213. Luther and the reformers attempted to set the psalms to the metrical

hymn form. Many of the venerable Protestant hymns have their origin in this practice. The point of this was to make singing easy for musically unsophisticated congregations. What started out as something purely utilitarian, was turned into an artistic ideal. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

The traditional method of psalm singing gradually became foreign to Protestant congregations and was considered a "Catholicizing" tendency. Thus, the Reformed Churches almost completely lost the old psalms and the hymns of the New Testament until they were re-introduced as responsorial readings.

But the loss is even greater. The metrical rhythm has no room for the tenderness and refinement which is characteristic of the German language and which come out so clearly in Luther's translation of the Bible. Many sections of the scriptures, although without metrical rhythm, can as easily be used as those with meter. The *Our Father*, the words of institution, the greeting: "May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ...," and many others could easily be sung by the congregation if they were set to simple melodies in the hymn books or learned in the schools. *Loc. cit.*

214. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

215. *Loc. cit.*

216. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

217. *Loc. cit.*

218. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

219. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

220. *Chorrock* is usually translated as surplice, but this does not seem to be the meaning here. Does Otto mean choir coat or gown? It must mean choir gown or Geneva gown since Otto says that unlike the cassock, colored vestments do not fit well over it.

221. On the other hand, Otto thinks that the objection that silent worship will cause amazement is absurd. Silent worship frequently happens in circles which gather for Passion devotions.

222. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

CHAPTER II

RUDOLF OTTO'S LITURGICAL EXPERIMENTATION

The purpose of this chapter is to show how Otto concretized his liturgical ideas just described in chaper one. This will be done by an analysis and comparison of (1) Otto's model liturgies of the Word, (2) his model liturgies of the Eucharist, and (3) the liturgical manuals which he helped edit. Thus this chapter is divided into three parts:

Part I: Experimental Services of the Word

1) Sunday Services
2) Occasional Services
3) Liturgical Hours

Part II: Experimental Lord's Supper Services

1) Elaborate Service
2) Full Service
3) Simple Service

Part III: Liturgical Manuals edited by Otto

1) *Chorgebete für Kirche, Schule, und Hausandacht*.[1]
2) *Liturgische Blätter für Prediger und Helfer*.[2]
3) *Das Jahr der Kirche in Lesungen und Gebeten*.[3]
4) *Eingangspsalmen für die Sonntage des Kirchenjahres*.[4]
5) *Postille*[5]
6) *Musical Supplement of Zur Erneuerung und Ausgestaltung des Gottesdienstes*.

Part One: Experimental Services of the Word

1) *Services of the Word for Sunday*

Otto has bequeathed to us three model services for the Sunday Service.[6] They are:

a) Sunday without a preface.[7]
b) Sunday with a preface.[8]
c) Sunday with a litany.[9]

2) *Occasional Services*

The occasional services given by Otto are:

a) Service for the Fatherland Sunday.[10]
b) Service for All Souls Sunday.[11]

Otto has two services for the liturgical hours:

a) Friday and Saturday night Evening Prayer.[12]
b) Morning Prayer.[13]

The point of these services was to provide a structure which would be filled in with content from the various manuals and collections edited by Otto and his associates.

The structure of these seven services is identical, with the exception of the liturgical hours. This structure is basically:

1. The preaching service (Die Wortverkundigung)
2. The Intermission for Offerings and announcements (Die Pause, mit Gemeindeopfer und Ankundigungen)
3. The Service of Adoration with the Sacrament of Silence (Die Anbetung)

For a comparative structural analysis of these seven services see the chart on the following pages.

SUNDAY WITHOUT PREFACE	SUNDAY WITH PREFACE	SUNDAY WITH LITANY	FATHERLAND SUNDAY	ALL SOULS SUNDAY	EVENING PRAYER (Fri. or Sat.)	MORNING PRAYER
		Part I: The Proclamation of the Word				
Organ Prelude	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------
Congregational Hymn	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	
Introit Psalm	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------
						Congregational Hymn
Intercessions		-----------	-----------	-----------		
Doxology		-----------		-----------		
Collect	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------
First Reading of Scripture	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------[14]	-----------
	Doxology	Solo	Creed	Solo	Antiphonal Prayer/ or Litany/ or Beatitudes	Doxology Organ Interlude Antiphonal Prayer
Congregational Hymn	-----------		-----------	-----------		
Gospel Salutation	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------		
Second Reading of Scripture[15]	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------
Concluding Greeting	-----------		-----------	-----------		
Organ Interlude	-----------		-----------	-----------		
Post-Sermon hymn	-----------		-----------		-----------	

(without Preface)	(with Preface)	(with Litany)	(Fatherland)	(All Souls)	(Evening Pr.)	(Morning Pr.)
		Part II: The Intermission				
Presentation of Offerings	-----------		-----------	-----------		
Announcements	-----------		-----------	-----------	-----------	
Organ Interlude	-----------		-----------		-----------[16]	
		Part III: The Service of Adoration				
Gradual Psalm (Aspiration)	-----------	-----------	-----------			
Creed	-----------	-----------			-----------	
	Preface		-----------	-----------		
	Sanctus		-----------	-----------		
Free Prayer			-----------			
Litany (for Church)		-----------				
			Antiphonal Prayer	-----------	-----------	
					Doxology	
				Collect	-----------	
	Intercessions					-----------
Invocation	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	
Silent Service	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------
Bell rings (3)	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------
Lord's Prayer	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------
Closing Collect	-----------			-----------		-----------
			Major Doxology			
Blessing	-----------	-----------[17]	-----------	-----------	-----------	
Congregational Hymn	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------
Organ Postlude	-----------		-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------

An Analysis of the Individual Elements of the Liturgies of the Word

This section is mainly descriptive and rubrical.

Altar furnishings and preparations[18]

There is to be a simple cross on the altar. On the right and left sides there are three candles. The two candles at the end of each row are lighted, but the others are not. There is a credence table near the left wall of the sanctuary. On it is a basin covered with a cloth. This basin is for the offerings of the congregation at the presentation of gifts. On the right side of the chancel there are plain choir stalls for the minister (preacher) and his assistants (presbyter and deacon). There is also a hymnboard to indicate the hymns and psalms. Usually these latter are taken from the *Chorgebete* and would be indicated as follows: *Chorgebet* 42, v. 1-8.[19]

The above description for altar furnishings is the same for all the three Sunday Services, but for Otto's occasional services he makes some additions. On the Fatherland's Day in the sanctuary behind the altar is the national flag (colors) with oak leaves.[20] A floral wreath is hung on the memorial plaque of those who have fallen in war. During the first hymn the youth, the choir, the minister and his assistants enter singing. The choir takes seats on the right and left of the altar while the minister and his assistants sit in simple stalls on the right.

Otto did not wish the feast of "All Souls" to be called the "Sunday of the Dead" but rather *Heimgangs-sonntag* or *Heimfahrtssonntag*. This in German has the double meaning: Those who have died/Those who have gone home. Most appropriately, Otto calls its "Memorial Sunday," for this is the feast commemorating those who have died in the congregation especially during the preceding year. At the same time, the regular memorial of the war dead is included.

In his model services Otto connects this liturgy with the Lord's Supper, although he makes provision for the occasions when the Lord's Supper (and other parts) may be omitted. Otto would prefer that the ceremony take place in a cemetery, perhaps in the cemetery chapel if there is room. Or if the weather is suitable, the service might be conducted in open air under the trees. It can always be held in church.

This service is mainly for relatives and friends of the dead. And so before the liturgy begins, they lay separate wreaths and donations of flowers on the credence table. The service starts with the congregation gathered around this table. On the altar there is a simple cross with black crepe mourning bands and deep colored roses. On the right and left sides of the altar are three unlit candles. The minister comes out of the sacristy and holds a brief confession service. After the confession, the bells ring and the celebration begins.

Otto gives no special preparatory directions for his liturgical hours.[21]

Part One: The Proclamation of the Word

The organ prelude

The minister and deacon go to their places at this time. The congregation rises to greet them. Then all are seated. On special occasions there are three ministers: preacher, presbyter, and deacon. During the Memorial Sunday Service the deacon lights the two candles on both sides of the altar closest to the congregation.

Opening congregational hymn

During this the minister goes to the altar (altar-steps). The deacon remains standing in his place to conduct the congregational responses. When there are three ministers, the preacher or chief minister and the presbyter go to the altar, the presbyter standing behind the preacher to his left. The deacon remains in his place.

Introit or entrance psalm

There are several options for the performance of this psalm: (1) The minister and deacon recite the psalm antiphonally with the congregation. Or just the minister or just the deacon can alternate with the congregation. In any case, the congregation should be supported by the Helfer-chor. (2) The deacon and the choir sing the psalm antiphonally. (3) Or as happens in Morning Prayer the presbyter stays at his place and recites antiphonally the psalm with the deacon and the congregation.

Intercessions

This is usually very similar to the Kyrie Eleison of the traditional western liturgies. It may be recited in either Greek or German, versicle/response style. It is not the ninefold Kyrie, but the three-fold:"Lord, have mercy, Christ, have mercy, Lord, have Mercy." In the Fatherland Sunday Service, the minister and presbyter go to the altar after the antiphonal prayer (introit) and there, presumably the minister leads the intercessions which are slightly more elaborate than usual.

Doxology

This usually means the Greater Doxology (Glory to God in the Highest).

Collect

This is preceded by the traditional greeting: "The Lord be with you" by the minister and the congregational response: "And with your spirit." The minister says" "let us pray." There are several options.

(a) extrempore prayers.

(b) fixed collect by minister followed by fixed collect by the deacon.

(c) fixed collect by the minister alone.

(d) the minister begins singing the prayer, then passes over into speaking, and concludes with singing.[22]

First reading[23]

The scripture readings for Sundays are selected from Otto's Das Jahr der Kirche. Apparently, the minister reads this reading since Otto indicates that the deacon and congregation respond to the reading with the triple Allelüia. However, on the times when there is also a presbyter, as for the occasional services, he reads this selection.[24] In the Evening Prayer Service a patristic selection may be used in place of scripture. In both Morning and Evening Prayer the reading takes place at the reading desk or lectern. And (1) there is usually a brief response to this reading such as a congregational three-fold Alleluia or (2) if it is customary, a creed can be recited by the minister or the congregation stands and sings a credal hymn or (3) there may be a response spoken by the deacon and answered by the congregation. The minister is seated after the first reading.

Response between the readings

Here Otto shows the greatest variety in his Service of the Word. The options are:

(a) a congregational hymn.

(b) the Major Doxology and congregational hymn.

(c) a solo.

(d) a solo and congregational hymn.

(e) antiphonal prayer.

(f) a litany.

(g) the Beatitudes.

(h) 1) Song of Praise by congregation;

  2) Organ interlude (or by cello or violin; or a selection by the choir; or solo; or silence while deacon lights the candles),

  3) Antiphonal prayer.

This does not mean that Otto would use any of the eight possibilities interchangeably. e. and f. and g. are more for Evening Prayer and h. is more for Morning Prayer. But that he has opted for great diversity is obvious.

The ceremony connected with this part is an offering from the congregation which is collected (usually during the last two stanzas) and put in a container on the credence table.[25] The minister then goes to the pulpit.

The Second reading

This reading which is usually read by the minister in the pulpit opens with a salutation and is immediately followed by the homily or sermon and a closing salutation. Then the organ plays very softly giving time for private meditation on the sermon. The organist then modulates into the hymn after the sermon which brings the liturgy of the Word to a close. The minister returns to his place.

In Evening Prayer since the presence of a minister or qualified preacher cannot be depended upon, a short discourse can be read by the leader out of various books of devotion. Otto gives a reference to one: Gotteshilfe by Fr. Naumann. This book contains addresses for the whole year.

For Morning Prayer Otto indicates that in place of scripture, there may be a reading from the "Fathers." Since "Fathers" refer to preachers, thinkers, and poets of the past as well as of more contemporary times, readings from the latter are especially appropriate on the anniversaries of these writers.

Part Three: Intermission for Offerings and Announcements

The offering

The minister comes to the altar. The deacon gives him the basin containing the offerings. The minister places it on the altar praying: "Lord, our God, may these gifts redound to your honor in service to our fellowmen." The congregation replies: "Amen." In the occasional services it is the presbyter who places the offerings on the altar while the minister from his place offers a prayer of offering adding something appropriate to the occasion such as the names of the dead on the Fatherland's Sunday.

Announcements

From the lectern the deacon reads the announcements of deaths, baptisms, weddings and the like. At the altar the minister offers an appropriate prayer of intercession after each announcement. The people and deacon reply: "Amen."[26] While Morning and Evening Prayer are not constructed according to the three divisions of the various liturgies of the Word in the sense that they have nothing which corresponds to Part II, there is a place in Evening Prayer where announcements may be made. It follows the hymn after the sermon and it in turn is followed by a verse of a hymn.

A Brief Organ Interlude

The deacon lights the remaining candles.[27] The minister and deacon go to their places on the right side of the sanctuary.

Part Three: The Service of Adoration[28]

Psalm of aspiration (Gradual psalm)

Here are the several options:

(a) antiphonal prayer: minister with deacon and congregation.
(b) anthem by the choir (especially a Bach Cantata selection).
(c) antiphonal prayer: deacon and minister with congregation and Helferchor.
(d) antiphonal prayer: deacon and congregation.
(e) antiphonal prayer sung: deacon and choir.
(f) congregational hymn.

At this time the ministers go to the altar. There seems to be no equivalent in the Morning and Evening Prayer Services.[29]

Creed

The options are:

(a) organ intones the music and the deacon intones the sung text. The congregations continues.

(b) minister recites a creed and the deacon and congregation respond with triple or single "Amen."

One of Otto's outstanding contributions in terms of liturgical texts was his composition of several alternate creed forms.[30]

Free Prayer

It opens with "Lift up your hearts" and "Let us Pray." It is an informal prayer referring back to the sermon and containing general intercessions. It is said by the minister. The deacon and congregation respond with "Amen." The Evening Prayer Service has here an antiphonal prayer.

Morning Prayer has a free prayer by the presbyter based on the readings and the character of the day which is to end with the words: "Through Christ, your Son, our Lord, Amen." In the Fatherland's Day Service there is both free prayer and a preface. The free prayer comes after the Sanctus.[31]

Preface and Sanctus

Adhering to his Lutheran tradition Otto makes use of the preface and Sanctus in services which are non-eucharistic. The preface is found in one of the Sunday Services and the Fatherland's Day and All Souls Services. There are two options here: (preface always opens with the traditional dialogue)

(a) a fixed text of the preface which leads into an extempore prayer, reminiscent of the sermon. Then with the traditional concluding words of the preface, it leads into the Sanctus.

(b) a fixed text in which the introductory and concluding parts of the preface are sung while the central parts of the preface is spoken.[32]

Litany[33]

Along with the creeds, the litanies were another of Otto's original creations. The litanies Otto used were usually taken from his Chorgebete. They are done antiphonally between the deacon, the minister, and the congregation. One of the Sunday Services is characterized by the fact that it has a litany which seems to take the place of the preface in the Sunday Service with a preface.[34] In this case there are special rubrics. The minister goes to the north side of the altar. The deacon, after lighting the candles, goes to the south end. The form is like this:

XUM

Minister:----------------Opening versicle
Deacon and
Congregation---------Amen
M.----------------------Prayer
D. & C.------------------Response
D.-----------------------Prayer
M. & C.------------------Response
M.----------------------Prayer
D. & C.------------------Response
D.-----------------------Prayer
M. & C.------------------Response
M.----------------------Prayer
D. & C.------------------Response
D.-----------------------Prayer
M. & C.------------------Response
Minister stands before the altar and prays a preface-like prayer.
D.& C. answer with a *Sanctus*-like response.
The minister kneels low.

Invocation or Epiclesis.

This is the invocation that the Lord will come in the moment of silence. The minister kneels and pronounces the invocation.[35] The deacon calls all to silence. This does not seem to be a traditional epiclesis in terms of it being an invocation of the Holy Spirit. The deacon's response, or presbyter's if there is one present, is unvaried: "The Lord is in his holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before him." This epiclesis is found in all of Otto's services.

In the Morning Prayer Service the concluding prayer to the intercessions by the presbyter seems to serve the same purpose as the invocation.

Silent Worship (Sacrament of silence)

The congregation and deacon kneel and adore in silence. The prayer bell rings three times and all rise.[36] Sometimes there is soft organ playing at this time. This is an invariable section of Otto's services even in the liturgical hours. He notes that during this time at Morning Prayer, each person prays for his own concerns, his work, and whatever he

XUM

wills.

The Lord's Prayer

This is a response to the silent adoration, a sort of greeting of the Lord who has come in the midst of the people. There are several options:

(a) organ intones the music and the minister sings: "Our Father who art in heaven." The congregation continues the prayer to the end. The choir repeats the conclusion: "For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever, Amen." The "Glory to God in the Highest" by choir, soloist, or congregation may be used in place of the choir repetition of the conclusion.

(b) the minister introduces the Our Father with a call to prayer. Then he, the deacon and presbyter say or sing the prayer in unison. The bells of the church are rung.

(c) the minister introduces the prayer. All say or sing it together. The doxology is sung by the congregation.[37]

(d) in Morning Prayer the organ intones the music and the deacon begins the singing of the Lord's Prayer which is picked up by the congregation.[38]

The closing prayer

It opens with the traditional dialogue: "The Lord be with you" and "And with your spirit." There may, however, be variations in the versicles and responses, e.g. "Prepare the way of the Lord, Alleluia" and "Make straight his paths, Alleluia."[39]

This prayer is not found in all the services. Sometimes Otto immediately goes into the blessing and dismissal, if there is one. In some of the services after the dialogue, the minister say: "Let us bless the Lord" and the congregation replies: "Thanks be to God forever." This immediately leads into the blessing.

Morning Prayer has a more developed closing collect which is done by both presbyter and deacon. The presbyter greets the new day as another step on the way to the eternal home and prays that those present will not die before they can offer their honest labor at the altar of God in the evening. The deacon greets the light of day, the messenger of God, and asks that it may warm the hearts of those present and that they may be as light and as open as the light itself. The minister then gives all the blessing: "May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all." Congregation: "Amen."

Benediction

The response to the blessing of the congregation is the triple "Amen." This becomes a doxology on the Sunday Service with a litany.

Closing Hymn[40]

At Evening Prayer the hymn selection is that of the following Sunday. Otto construed his Evening Prayer Service for use on Friday and Saturday nights.

Closing organ prelude

This is found in almost all the services.

Part Two: The Experimental Lord's Supper Services

Rudolf Otto has left behind him three types of Eucharistic liturgies. I shall designate them for the sake of convenience of reference as (1) elaborate, (2) full and (3) simple.[41] The elaborate one is the service connected with the Memorial Sunday Service for all souls.[42] The full service is the Lord's Supper Service found in Erneuerung.[43] The simple service is the one reproduced in Religious Essays.[44]

As in the case of the liturgies of the Word, these three services are structured in such a way that they are to be used in conjunction with the manuals edited by Otto. The structure of the three services is identical:

1. The liturgy of the Word including the confession and preparatory rites.
2. The presentation of offerings and fraternal greeting (proskomidia and philema).
3. The Lord's Supper (Eucharistia and anamnesis).
4. Communion including the post-Communion rites.

For a comparative structural analysis of these three services see the chart on the following pages.

XUM

ELABORATE	FULL	SIMPLE[45]
Confession Service[46]	------------------	[47]
	Part One: The Liturgy of the Word	
Organ Prelude		
Congregational Hymn		------------------
Antiphonal Prayer (Introit Ps.)	------------------	------------------
Intercessions	------------------ [48]	
Doxology	------------------	
Collect	------------------	------------------
Epistle	------------------ [49]	
Triple Alleluia by congregation		
Solo		
Congregational Hymn[50]		
Salutation		
Gospel		------------------
Sermon	------------------	------------------
Conclusion Greeting	------------------	
		Confession Service
Organ Postlude	------------------	------------------
Congregational Hymn[51]	(optional) ------------------	
Announcements		
	Creed (Optional)	

XUM

ELABORATE	FULL	SIMPLE
	Part Two: Presentation of Offerings and Fraternal Greetings	
Congregational Hymn	------------	------------
Creed		
Offering of Congregation	------------	------------
Prayer over Gifts	------------	------------
Brotherly Greeting	------------	------------
Congregational Hymn	------------	------------
Prayer		
Intercessions		------------
Prayer		
Choir Song		---------[52]
	Part Three: The Lord's Supper	
Preface	------------	------------
Sanctus	------------	------------
Exhortation	------------	
		Lord's Prayer
Antiphonal Prayer	------------	
		Anamnesis
Words of Institution	------------	------------
		Epiclesis
Silent Worship	------------	------------
Bells	------------	------------

ELABORATE	FULL	SIMPLE
	Part Four: Communion	
	Free Prayer	
	Intercessions	
	Lord's Prayer	
Distribution of Communion	-------------	------------
Angus Dei (Choir)	-------------	------------
Communion Hymn	-------------	------------
Lord's Prayer		
	Antiphonal Prayer	------------[53]
Closing collect	-------------	------------
Blessing	-------------	------------
Concluding Hymn	-------------	------------
Organ Postlude	-------------	------------

An Analysis of the Individual Elements of the Eucharistic Services[54]

Preparations

On the table there is a simple cross and three candles on the right and left. The two outside candles are burning. On the small credence table at the left there is a basin for the offering of the congregation and the bread and wine which are veiled. The first group of those to receive communion is seated in the benches in the sanctuary and the front pews of the church. The minister, presbyter, and deacon go to their places.

The communicants at the elaborate service are the friends and relatives of those who have died. As in the non-eucharistic service, they place wreaths and flowers on or near the credence table. The cross is decorated with black bands and dark roses. For this service none of the candles are burning in the beginning. As in the full communion service the minister conducts a penitential rite in the beginning. Then the bells ring and the service begins.

Organ prelude

In the elaborate service it is at this time that the minister, presbyter, and deacon go to their places. The congregation arises to greet them. Then all sit and the deacon lights the two outermost candles.

Congregational hymn

The minister and presbyter go to the altar (in front of it). The presbyter stands behind the minister to his left. The deacon stays in his place.

Antiphonal prayer

This is the introit psalm. It can be performed as an antiphonal prayer or an anthem can be sung in its place. This is the time that the ministers go to the altar if there is no congregational hymn.

Collect

This is either fixed or free prayer.

Epistle

The elaborate service seems to be the only communion service which has more than one reading. This may be due to the fact that it is a more ornate liturgy for special occasions as well as being a Sunday non-eucharistic service to which is attached the liturgy of the Lord's Supper. These may also be the reasons for several other elements in the liturgy of the Word section such as the solo and congregation hymns. It has its own specified reading: Revelation 7, 9-17.

Gospel

In the ordinary communion service (which is not envisioned by Otto as the main service in the Church) this is to be the gospel of the day or some other scripture readings from the lectionary or a free text. The elaborate service has its own text: Ephesians 3:14-15, 4:3-6.

Sermon

This may be a regular sermon, an address from the altar, or an allocution from the reading desk.

Concluding salutation

All three services are different here. The simple service has no salutation probably because it leads into the confession service. The full service has a greeting of peace which serves the purpose of a concluding salutation. The elaborate service has a regular concluding salutation.

Confession service

Unlike the elaborate and full services, the simple service has a lengthy confession rite as a response to the reading of the scripture. It is structured thus:

(a) self-examination
(b) confession of sins:
    (1) exhortation
    (2) versicle/response[55]
(c) silence
(d) fixed or free absolution

Organ prelude

This is common to all three services and indicates the conclusion of the first part, although in the full service there is still a hymn and creed, both of which are optional. Also in the elaborate service there is an additional congregational hymn, announcements, and an organ prelude.

It must be noted here that while the individual elements of the three eucharistic models correspond in general to the three major divisions of the liturgies of the Word, yet the major divisions of the communion services do not correspond to those of the liturgies of the Word. For instance, in the elaborate service part two is really the intermission for announcements and the presentation of offerings and the fraternal greeting become part three. I have simplified this for purposes of comparison.

Announcements

This is found only in the elaborate service.

Congregational hymn

This introduces the second major section: the presentation of gifts and fraternal greeting. While it is being sung in the simple service the minister and assistants (two elders of the congregation) go to the credence table, take the bread and wine and place them on the altar.

In the full service, the preacher and presbyter carry the bread and wine to the altar. The preacher places the chalice and wine container on the right side of the altar; the presbyter places the bread on the left. The presbyter receives the congregation's offering. He hands the receptacle to the minister who prays as he places it on the altar: "O Lord, may these humble gifts redound to your honor in the service of the brethren." The congregation responds with "Amen."

At this time in the elaborate service the deacon lights the remaining candles; the minister and presbyter go to the credence table and get the chalice and wine container and bread and wine. They place the elements on the altar and the deacon goes to the credence table.

Creed

There is a creed in two of the liturgies. In the elaborate service it is part of the offering, immediately after the opening hymn of this section. In the full liturgy the creed is the optional ending to the first part of the liturgy of the Word. In the elaborate service it is led by the presbyter and the congregation responds with the triple "Amen." At the end the deacon brings the container holding the offering of the congregation and gives it to the minister. The later places it on the altar praying the text as found in the full service.

In the full service the presbyter, staying at his place, reads the creed which consists of several affirmations, each answered by the deacon and congregation, the response being: "Praise be to God in the Highest."

Prayer over gifts and fraternal greeting

The prayer over the gifts in all the services is also a prayer for unity. The simple service indicates that the prayer is one of acceptance of the gifts that they may be the sacred meal of the covenant. The famous selection from the Didache, "As the grains of wheat which had been scattered upon the earth, etc." is included. The prayer is directed to God and then the minister says to the congregation, "We, being many, are one body. For we are all partakers of that one bread" (1 Cor. 10:17). "Greet one another with the holy kiss" (Rom. 16:16). Then the minister and assistant lay a hand on each other's shoulder and say: "Peace be with you." The response is: "And with you be peace." Beginning with the right, the communicants extend their hands and bow to one another.

This is similar to the other two services. The full liturgy indicates that the congregation rises for the greeting after the prayer over the gifts. Presumably, this applies to all three services. The full service also indicates that in the greeting there is a mutual extending of hands which would seem to imply the possibility of a handshake rather than placing the hand on the other's shoulder as in the simple service. When there is a minister, presbyter, and deacon, the minister greets the presbyter, the presbyter the deacon, and the deacon the minister. The communicants pass the greeting among themselves.

XUM

Congregational hymn

All three services conclude the brotherly greeting with a hymn. In the full service the deacon lights the remaining candles.

From here to the eucharistic part proper, there is only an intercession in the simple service. This is done responsively between the minister and the congregation. It contains a commemoration of those who have departed since the last celebration.

The elaborate service is more complex. First there is a prayer by the minister which is a prayer of remembrance of all who have died in the last year. This is followed by an intercession prayer and a floral ceremony. The presbyter asks God to greet the following men who have died. The names are mentioned. At this time the deacon places wreaths for these men on the altar and altar steps. The presbyter says: "Look on them and be gracious to them." The minister, deacon, congregation respond: "That they may rest in peace. And eternal light shine upon them." This is repeated for deceased women, children, and those fallen in battle. Each time the deacon lays wreaths on the altar and steps. The minister concludes the intercessions with a prayer that leads into the Lord's Supper held in their memory. The choir sings a concluding anthem.

Thus all three services close the section before the Eucharist with music. In the elaborate service the choir sings an anthem; in the full service there is a congregational hymn with the lighting of candles; and in the simple service the transition is achieved with a gradual sung by the choir,or a short anthem, or a short organ voluntary during which the remaining candles are lit.

XUM

Preface and Sanctus

These elements are present in all three liturgies. The Sanctus can be sung by choir or congregation.

Exhortation

This is replaced by the Lord's Prayer in the simple service.

Words of Institution

The simple service differs from the other two in the introduction to the institution narrative. There is a brief anamnesis. The minister unveils the bread and wine and says to the congregation: "As often as you eat of this bread and drink of this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes" (1 Corinthians 11:26).

In the elaborate service the presbyter leads an antiphonal prayer from the Chorgebete. The choir answers with the triple "Amen." The full service is similar but the presbyter and deacon alternate with the congregation.

All three liturgies agree on the actual words of institution. The minister and all his assistants, presbyter and deacon, and the whole congregation recite or sing in common this narrative. The manual actions which accompany the words are:

> Our Lord Jesus Christ (minister goes to left of altar)
> on the night he was betrayed
> took the bread (minister takes one of the wafers)
> gave thanks and broke it (minister breaks the wafer)
> and gave it to his disciples and said:
> Take this and eat
> this is my body which is given for you.
> Do this in remembrance of me. (Minister goes to the right)
>
> In the same way after supper he
> took the cup (minister takes the cup)
> gave thanks and gave it to them saying:
> This is the New Testament in my blood
> which is shed for you for the remission of sins.

Do this, as often as you drink it, in
remembrance of me. (Minister sets down the chalice)
All kneel for the silent service.

Silent Worship

This is the same as in Otto's liturgies of the Word.

(a) Invocation (the simple service has a special epiclesis missing in the other two.)
(b) Silent Prayer (the elaborate and full services suggest special words to be prayed silently by the adorer.)
(c) Bell rings three times.
(d) All rise.

While the elaborate and simple services proceed immediately into the distribution of communion, the full service has several preparatory prayers. First the minister offers a free prayer. Then in a fashion similar to that of the elaborate service's intercessions for the dead, the presbyter recalls those who have died since the last Eucharist. The order is the same: men first, then women and children. The minister intones each time: "Look on them and be gracious to them." And the deacon and congregation answer: "May they rest in peace and let eternal light shine upon them." The intercessions conclude with the Lord's Prayer said by all in common. Or else the minister intones and the congregation sings it.

Communion

The minister gives the basin containing the bread to the presbyter. He himself takes the chalice. They go to the place where the communicants are sitting. The latter rise. They receive the bread and wine according to rows.

The words of distribution differ with the day and so the service. Thus:

Simple Service:

Bread: "The Holy to the Holy. Come for all things are ready.[56] Christ has died for us that we might live with him."

Wine: "I will drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom."

Elaborate Service:

Bread: "Just as there is one body and it has many members, so also Christ."

Wine: "We are all saturated into one body."

The full service gives no specific words since the service is for no specific day. Presumably, the formulae in the simple service were the ones for ordinary use.

After the first half of those seated around the altar have received, they vacate their places. The deacon shows those coming forward to their places. Meanwhile communion is distributed to the second half.

Music during communion

Usually the Agnus Dei is sung by choir or congregation. There is also opportunity for organ interlude music. One song which is mentioned in all three liturgies is the Auf Golgotha ist fest gegründet ("Now on Calvary's hill tis finished").[57] It is sung by soloist, or choir or congregation. It is the concluding communion hymn during which the minister and presbyter return the bread and wine to the altar.

Post-Communion

Each liturgy varies here. The simple service has either a choir anthem or an antiphonal prayer between assistant and congregation. Then the minister prays the concluding collect.

The full service gives an antiphonal prayer to be done between presbyter and deacon alternating with the congregation. Then the minister prays the concluding collect.

In the elaborate service the minister exhorts all to pray the Lord's Prayer during which the church bells are rung. The choir repeats the last part of the prayer or it may sing the greater doxology. Then the minister prays the concluding collect.

Concluding Rite

All the liturgies conclude alike with the blessing, the congregational hymn,[58] and organ postlude. In the elaborate service during this postlude the congregation remains seated (presumably in the other two services, they exit). Then after the postlude those who remain behind take the wreaths from the altar and carry them to the cemetery. Meanwhile in the cemetery a choir of trumpets plays a funeral song.

Part Three: Liturgical Manuals

This part of the chapter is devoted to an analysis of the four practical liturgical manuals that Otto helped edit, the foreword Otto wrote for the manual Postille and the musical supplement of Erneuerung.

Chorgebete für Kirche, Schule, und Hausandacht[59]

While Otto is not solely responsible for this manual, it can be safely assumed that he agreed with its contents. The Chorgebete is a collection of general prayers for use in public worship, especially in the evening liturgies during the week and in the family circle. In the introduction[60] it is described as a volume of prayers which are spoken chorally in antiphonal style.[61] The leader speaks the first part, the versicle; the congregation the second part, the response. The precedent for this method of prayer is found in the psalms and other psalmodic parts of the bible such as the prophets and in the New Testament. The litany form is also of early origin. Both psalms and litanies have long been used in Protestant worship, especially in Lutheranism. The Church should enrich its worship with these forms again. These are the best forms in which the congregation can express itself as a community.

These prayers can also be sung to psalm tones. Yet the spoken prayer is to be considered as festive as the sung. The fine rhythm of Luther's German comes through better when the prayers are spoken. Here the editors refer to the Anglo-Catholic liturgist, F. Rogers, who stresses that good psalmody is based on good communal speaking. St. Augustine says that psalmody should be closer to speaking than to singing. And the editors emphasize that the speaking should be true speaking, not an unintelligible muttering. Everyone in the choir should speak heartily and with power. Rhythm and pitch will bind many weak voices together. Strong intelligible speaking should be stressed in classes on religious instruction. The speaking must be strong but simple. Any theatricality should be avoided. The intoner should not declaim and not insert his own interpretation on the text. Simple choral speaking goes easily and quickly if one is attentive. The editors, however, do suggest that this type of praying be practiced. If there are ten to fifteen people present who are acquainted with the method, things will go smoothly.

The antiphonal approach is found in Protestant circles in England and America. The editors refer to the hymn-books of the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists which contain selections from the Bible for this purpose.

These choral prayers can be used as introit psalms, gradual psalms after the sermon, introductions to the altar prayers, or in the form of intercessions and litanies for the Sunday Services. They can well be used in week-day and paraliturgical (here non-Sunday) services which are best designed as prayer services. The introduction recommends the other manuals connected with Rudolf Otto. The purpose of this volume is not only for church, but also for the home and the school.

In the second edition, the editors drew upon their experience of Evening Prayer in the chapel of St. Jost in Marburg. In the same edition, they included testimonials from various pastors on the effectiveness of this style of praying, especially how easily those in the confirmation class learn them by heart. An interesting account comes from D. Frick regarding the American scene. He says that the liturgical life is much enriched in America due to antiphonal praying, especially between minister and congregation. Most hymnals contain a section of responsive readings. In many churches besides the hymnal, there is another book containing a selection of these readings.

This introduction contains a few directions for praying the Chorgebete. The minister should begin the reading of one of the prayers with the words: "Let us pray with the words of Chorgebet (X)", announcing the number of the selection. He then waits till all have opened to the proper page and then says the first line. The separate parts are clearly marked. The versicles of the minister are moved out to the left and close with a dash. The response of the congregation is indented to the right. The prayers always close with "Amen." The individual verses are numbered so that individual sections can be used out of the whole prayer.

The introduction closes with a quote from John Wesley (1784) speaking of the use of the psalms in the Anglican Church: "I believe there is no liturgy in the world, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid scriptural, rational piety," and "Many psalms are left out and many parts of others, as being highly improper in the mouths of a Christian congregation."[62] This latter notion is also a principle underlying the selections in the Chorgebete.

The Chorgebete is structured according to the following division of antiphonal prayers:[63]

1. Morning Prayer
2. Evening Prayer

3-71. Selections from the Old Testament

3-54	Psalms
55-65	Isaiah
66-71	Job, Wisdom, Sirach

72-97 Selections from the New Testament

72-76	Matthew
77-79	Luke
80-81	John
82-86	Romans
87-91	Corinthians
92-93	Ephesians
94-95	I John
96-97	Revelation

98-121 Litanies

98	A litany according to John Chrysostom
99	Short litany by Otto
100	Memorial of the dead by Otto
101-2	Long litany
103	Litany on eternal life[64]
104	Litany of the Kingdom of God
105	Litany of renewal
106	Litany to attain the mind of Jesus
107	Litany for blessings on work
108	Litany of resignation
109	Litany for summertime
110	Litany for the rule of the Holy Spirit
111	Litany for light and truth
112	Litany for peace Sunday
113	Song to the sun by St. Francis Assisi
114	Litany of thanksgiving[65]
115	Litany of the Trinity
116	Litany of heart, house and homeland
117	Preface for the Fatherland Sunday
118-9	Litanies: "Rest in one" and "All in all" by Wiedemann
120	Memorial of the dead by Otto
121	A lengthy altar prayer

122-28 Creeds

122	Summary of the faith

123	Father, Son and Spirit
124	Credal hymn
125	Credal hymn after Luther
126-7	Creeds in the words of Holy Scripture
128	For the Fatherland's Day

129-147 Special Occasions

129	Greeting of the Sunday by Otto
130-1	Fatherland's Day
132	Baptismal song
133-4	For the Lord's Supper, before the administration of the sacrament. (134 is by Otto)
135	For the Lord's Supper. After Otto.
136	*Te Deum*
137	A new *Te Deum*
138	Advent
139	Christmas Eve
140	Maundy Thursday
141	Good Friday: God's reproaches to his people
142	Good Friday Evening
143	Holy Saturday: Rest in the tomb
144	Easter
145	Pentecost Sunday
146	Memorial Sunday and day of repentence.
147	Gustavus Adolfus Sunday

148-155 Celebrations for youths

148	Morning Prayer
149	Work and vocation
150	Work-Sunday
151	The Consummation--Herman Hesse
152	Comrade and leader
153	Vow of the youth and prayer
154	High Ideal
155	Song of the archangel: Spring Feast--Goethe

156-159 Musical Supplement

156-7	Music for the Lord's Prayer for the minister with the final section set to harmony for the congregation.

158	A hymn setting of the great doxology. (Similar to but not the same as the Gloria in the Roman Mass)
159	A different wording of the doxology.

Church Orders

160-164 Services

160	Main Sunday Service[67]
161	Morning and Evening Prayer[68]
162	Memorial Prayers and readings[69]
163	Antiphonal prayer from Sirach
164	A reference of manuals for commemorations[70]

The Chorgebete ends with a list of references for the week-day services of Morning and Evening Prayer throughout the liturgical year. The references are to the Chorgebete and refer to the introit, the prayer, the gradual psalm and the litany.

Liturgische Blätter für Prediger und Helfer[71]

This is a random collection of liturgical models for liturgical and civil holidays for all ecclesiastical circles. A number of people made contributions to this manual. The purpose of the series was to free gradually German worship from unintelligibility, dogmatic formulae, and suffocating performances. It was an attempt to get the liturgy to speak to modern man, not in the sense of rational teaching but in the sense of mediating the "irrational" Word of God. Times have changed and worship cannot be treated as an isolated affair.[72] Thus, it is no surprise that this is a collection of liturgical formulae based on the "silent worship."

Following is a sampling of the contents of this series.

Volume I

1.	1	Day of national mourning
	2-3	Holy Week

2.	4-13	Holy Week
3.	14-22	Morning and Evening Prayer
4.	23-34	Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity
5.	35-41	Trinity and Summer festivals
6.	42-50	Festivals for Autumn, e.g. Reformation, All Souls, Fatherland Sunday
7.	51-58	Poetic Celebrations, e.g. by Ludwig Richter and Goethe
8.	59-65	Various Lord's Supper Celebrations
9.	66-81	Christmas Celebrations

Volume II

1.	82-87	Devotions for Passion time
2.	88-97	Variety of Morning Prayers, youth services, and Sunday Services
3.	A-J	Hymns for the liturgical year and special occasions
4.	98-104	Services in connection with confirmation
5.	105-118	Village Church Services
6.	119-143	Celebrations for youth
7.		Liturgical prayers for the whole Church year Prayers concerning general religious ideas such as litanies, prayers regarding belief and offering and the conduct of one's life

Volume III[73]

The contents deal with Advent, Christmas and the end of the year. It is a collection of sixteen services done by different German pastors collected for general use. The table of contents:[74]

1. Three vesper services for Advent-Hanne
2. Advent vespers-Horn
3. Youth morning celebration for Advent-Altmann
4. Advent celebration for youthful congregation-Schäfer
5. Christmas Eve vespers-Horn
6. Christmas vespers-Hanne
7. Liturgical Christmas vespers-Günzel
8. Christmas Eve celebration-Altmann
9. Christmas matins-Hover
10. First day of Christmas-Horn
11. Children's Christmas celebration
12. Vespers on St. Silvester's Eve-Hover
13. Celebration for the close of the year-Stier
14. End of Year celebration-Altmann
15. Midnight prayer for end of the year-Hanne
16. Feast of Epiphany, Missionfeast-Altmann

A more detailed view of the individual contributions can be obtained by looking at the elements found in number one above: Three vesper services for Advent:

A. Entrance Rite (identical for all three)
    Organ prelude or choral song
    Introit
    Versicles/responses
    Congregational hymn

B. Prayers and readings (different for each)
    Antiphon and psalm
    Congregational prayer
    Salutation
    First Reading
    Congregational hymn
    Second Reading
    Congregational hymn
    Third Reading
    Congregational hymn
    Address
    Congregational hymn

C. Prayers
    1. and 2. Benedictus with antiphon, Collect
    3. Magnificat with antiphon, Collect

D. Conclusion (identical for all three)
    Lord's Prayer
    Salutation
    Blessing
    Organ Prelude

Das Jahr der Kirche in Lesungen und Gebeten[75]

This is a pericope-book in a three year cycle for Sundays and weekeday services in connection with the liturgical year. It is so shaped according to a unified themein meaningful succession that the whole of the Christian gospel is put forth.

This lectionary was first done in Swedish by E. Linderholm (1920).[76] It was translated into German as Neues Evangelienbuch by Th. Reissinger in the second edition. Otto and his collaboraters augmented and revised it. Otto wrote the preface to the German edition.[77]

Since Otto endorsed the work of Linderholm, it is necessary to understand the operational principles presupposed by this lectionary. For Linderholm the liturgical year is one of the great creations of the Christian faith. It is a combination of chance and the pressure of natural collection. Any book of pericopes should express the meaning of the liturgical year.

This was not the case with the traditional lectionary. Since the Middle Ages the texts for the year have been fixed with the result that the free reading of the scriptures, especially of the Old Testament has been lost. One could not establish unity between the epistles and gospels of the traditional lectionary without exegetical violence. Also, the medieval Church had a variety of texts for special occasions such days of fasting, Easter baptisms, and exorcisms. These special occasions are foreign to the churches of the Reformation. But often times Protestantism has kept the texts referring to Easter baptisms and the expulsion of devils despite the fact that the ceremonies themselves no longer exist. Since the liturgical year of the present Protestant churches is but a fragment of that of the Carolingian Church, the present Protestant series of pericopes can be of little more than archeological interest.

Linderholm says that the early lectionary was an incomparably rich collection and that his book is done in the spirit as if nothing had happened in the life of the Church since Charlemagne, as if there had been no Reformation or Evangelical theology.

Linderholm emphasizes the need of a new pericope book in the German Lutheran Church for over a century. A rebirth in preaching is also needed. And the first step to this renewal is a new lectionary.

Moreover, the Church year and lectionary need an overriding principle to give coherence to the texts. The present lectionary gives no insight into the inner development of revelation in the Old and New Testaments. None of the periods of the Church year give a clear and coherent understanding of revelation in the Old Testament or of the life and preaching of Jesus, or of the apostolic testimony, or of the work of the Holy Spirit in the founding of the Church or of the life of the first century Christian community. No Church lectionary should be lacking in large selections from the Old Testament. Ways must be found whereby the congregation is exposed to the whole bible. The scripture should be read simply and with beauty so its power comes through.

What Linderholm is looking for is an overriding theme which will ground the entire liturgical year and its texts and prayers without destroying its traditional format. He felt he had, as it were, a charge from God to reform the lectionary. He also wanted to choose readings for the weekdays so that the faithful would have something like a breviary, but he lacked the time. Some six hundred texts in his lectionary do cover the essentials from the Old and New Testaments.

Linderholm does not believe that the lectionary should be limited to the scriptures, but also post-apostolic writings might well be included. But he is not sure that the Church is sufficiently mature for this, since it is not yet making full use of the scriptures. Confidence in the workings of the Spirit and the progress of revelation are still too weak for people to recognize these later writings as the word of God.[78]

Linderholm has chosen the Kingdom of God (and Divine Rule) as the fundamental idea of the Church year. From this thematic approach he derives the following principles:[79]

(1) The lectionary should be a complete and valuable expression of the essence of revelation in the Old and New Testaments.

(2) The liturgy and preaching must take note of recent biblical and dogmatic research. That which is passing in the expression of revelation, what belongs to a different culture can be omitted. It has no place in the pulpit. This in turn means a) emphasizing the principle course and main events of the Old Testament as preparation for the gospel; b) stressing the essential elements from the life of Jesus and of his gospel of God and the kingdom in fidelity to historical reality; c) focusing on the apostolic gospel of Jesus and of the Christ in its inner development and historical context; d) indicating a coherent demonstration of the work of the Spirit in the founding of the Church.

(3) The textshould be useable for edification, that is, that in light of its place in the liturgical year it should speak directly to the people. It should be expressive linguistically.

(4) Each period of the Church year has its own special character. This character produces the coloring of the content of the individual days.

(5) The daily texts should develop a general theme or a unified group of themes. There must be a special ordering of texts, e.g. the prophets and psalms prepare for the New Testament readings. The Old Testament texts must be developed according to a principle and not haphazardly.

(6) The question of the collects is touchy. Most of them

are taken from the Roman Mass and treated with great respect. Frequently, these are not the best of the Old Roman prayers and they lose some of the originality and freshness in German translation. They are quite unsuitable. New collects are needed. The difficulty is uniting classical forms and ecclesiastical language with the spirit of the times. Collects should approach religious poetry in form.

Linderholm wishes in no way to create a prejudice against the traditional calendar with its traditional feasts such as Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. Rather his underlying principle of the kingdom of God should emphasize these feasts. The texts for these feasts already operate according to this principle. E. g. what is more obvious than putting the history of revelation from the Old and New Testaments in the time of Advent? According to Linderholm's principle the Church year should end with the end of the world and begin with the creation and rule of God. Between the two is found the history of the kingdom of God. Thus:

(1) Advent should not be concerned with the last things or the second coming, but rather with the idea of the Covenant, prophetic preaching, and the hope of a Messiah as a preparation for Christmas. It should give a brief organized account of the whole revelation in the Old Testament as the necessary preparation for the life of Jesus.[80]

(2) The time from Christmas to Pentecost is concerned with the life and work of Jesus. The time between Christmas and Easter is dedicated to Jesus' own preaching of God and the kingdom and should freely follow the gospel narrative and preaching of Jesus in its salient points. The preaching of Jesus starts at Epiphany and reaches its culmination on Good Friday. Good Friday is the high point of the year and the greatest day in the

liturgical year of the Evangelical Church.

Linderholm proposes for Holy Week a silent week of evening liturgies. Thursday would be the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Good Friday would be an edifying selection of texts from the Passion with suitable hymns after each reading. The sermon would be short or omitted.

Eastertime should be concerned with the apostolic preaching of Jesus as the Christ. Linderholm makes the point that in the whole Church during each season the whole course of the Christian faith must be kept in mind, but that it is seen from a different viewpoint.

(3) The time after Pentecost is the time of consideration of the working of the Spirit in the founding of the Church. But the period of Pentecost proper should not extend to the close of the Church year as in the Roman Church. Linderholm feels that this cuts off Pentecost's natural connection with the preceding seasons which are devoted to major moments in the history of salvation. Rather the six Sundays of Trinity would make up the period of Pentecost proper. These Sundays correspond to the Sundays after Epiphany so that if there are fewer Sundays of the Epiphany, there are more after Pentecost and vice versa. This way the whole liturgical year calendar after Epiphany will not be moveable. Only the period between the Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost proper (six Sundays of Trinity) would be moveable. Presumably, Trinity Sunday would close the period of Pentecost and begin the time of Trinity proper.

As regards the time of Pentecost after the Trinity Sundays several topics are treated in the following succession: the Church as something existing before the individual, the kingdom of God working in time, especially in country, people and government, and the last things (beginning with All Souls Day).

Just as the first half of the Church year treats of the history of the Kingdom of God and revelation in the Old and New Testaments, the second half more properly treats of the Kingdom of God in regard to the Church and the community, the individuals, the whole people of God and the final end of the kingdom and its fulfillment in time and eternity.

In his preface to this manual Rudolf Otto indicates that he was very much impressed with Linderholm's liturgical lectionary and attempted to shape the Church year according to Linderholm's principles with some supplementation.

Otto maintains the division of the Church year into Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, pre-Lent, Lent, Easter and Pentecost (including the first Sunday of Trinity).[81] This is the festive half of the Church year, the period concerned with the basic revelation. It is fitting to end this festive part of the year with the Sundays of Trinity as the unifying factor in the fundamental moments of revelation.[82] Trinity Sunday itself should be postponed as Linderholm suggests but this presents too many difficulties. But Otto does adopt the notion of the kingdom of God as the guiding theme for the whole year as can be seen from an examination of the contents.

The divisions of the Das Jahr der Kirche in Lesungen und Gebeten are:

A. The Solemn half of the Church year
B. The Ordinary half of the Church year
C. Lesser moveable feasts
D. Prayers
E. Supplementary texts
F. Index of scripture passages

Divisions A and B give Otto's basic restructuring of the liturgical year.

A. The Solemn half of the Church year

I. Advent: the preparation and expectation of Christ and the appearance of the kingdom of God.

1 Sunday: God coming in Creation
2 Sunday: (a) Election of Israel: establishment of the Old Covenant
3 Sunday: Preaching of the prophets
4 Sunday: Appearance of Messiah: end of the Old Covenant: sending of the precursor

II. Christmas to Easter: appearance of kingdom of God in Jesus' preaching, life and work.

1. Christmas Time: the coming of God to his people[83]
   Christmas Eve: Christ in the crib
   First Christmas Day: Birth of world Savior
   Second Christmas Day: The eternal Word of grace and truth from the heart of the Father
   Sunday after Christmas: Name of Jesus; appearance in the temple
   New Year's Eve: The brevity of time; passingness of things; thanks for the year
   New Year's: Perseverance and trust in God; prayers for the coming year; feast of the Lord of the world
   Epiphany: (end of Christmastide) The light of the world's mission

2. Epiphany time:[84]

   A. First half: Savior in development
      1 Sunday: Holy Childhood
      2 Sunday: Teacher of Jesus; Christian education; Mary Sunday
      3 Sunday: Baptism of Jesus; vocation and profession; preparation of the Spirit

   B. Second half: The Savior in his works
      4 Sunday: In Capernaum
      5 Sunday: At the sea of Galilee
      6 Sunday: On the mountain of God: Sermon on the Mount Sunday

3. Pre-Lent: At the height of his works
Septuagesima: The growing seed
Sexagesima: Confession in the Messiah; sending of the disciples; apostolic succession
Quinquagesima: Triumphs of the gospel; Transfiguration; unbelief and hostility.

4. Lent:[85] Journey to Jerusalem; speeches and signs on the way
Involvit: The awakening to decision
Reminiscere: (a) On the boundaries of Samaria
(b) Memorial Sunday: Day of National Mourning
Oculi: On the way; down the Jordan
Laetare: Through Jericho; Zachaeus Sun.
Judica: Bethany

5. Holy Week

Palm Sunday: Entrance into Jerusalem
Palm Sunday Evening Service: In Jerusalem
Monday Evening: Speeches of Christ concerning the end
Tuesday Evening: Good counsel of God, evil counsel of the enemy
Wednesday Evening: Departure address to the hypocrites, to the trusted ones; signs of the traitor
Thursday Evening: The Last Supper (a eucharistic service)
Thursday Late Evening: Gethsemane
Friday Early Service: Before the judges
Friday Main Service: On the Cross
Friday Evening or Afternoon: Hour of death
Friday Evening: Burial

III. Easter to Pentecost

1. Eastertide: time of joy; apostolic witness of Jesus as the Christ

Easter Sunday: Victory over death
Easter Monday: Life out of death
Time of joy: First half: Sending of witnesses and their tidings
Quasimodogeniti: Petersday; suffer as Jesus suffered
Misericordia Domini: Good Shepherd; Johannine message: Jesus' work as the revelation of love
Jubilate: Pauline witness: in him alone is redemption

Time of joy: Second half: the response to the
apostolic preaching of the Good
News
Cantate: The Easter community as a singing
community; Christian song
Rogate: The new liturgy in the new community
Ascension: Heavenly meaning of the new community
Exaudi: Spiritual understanding of the new
community

2. Pentecost: the work of the Spirit in the foundation of
the Church
Pentecost Sunday: Pouring out of the Spirit, the
heavenly fire
Pentecost Monday: (a) The new life in the Spirit
(b) The creative and renewing
Spirit of God in nature; Pentecost
as a feast of the Spring

3. Trinity Sunday:[86] unity of revelation
1 Sunday: Calling and gathering of the community
through the Holy Spirit
2 Sunday: Day of Stephen, the first martyr; feast
of martyrs of the Church; the Church under
the cross
3 Sunday: The freeing of the gospel from its Judaic
and historical confines and limitations;
the religious essence and world-wide
dimension of the kingdom of God
4 Sunday: Day of Paul; the gospel to the Greeks;
to Europe; to the whole world
5 Sunday: The new faith in the arena with the old
spiritual forces; in conflict with
the ideas and intellectual currents of
its milieu
6 Sunday: The Word to the communities: the
admonishing word of the Spirit to the
Church for its passage through time
7 Sunday: Eternal election; the depth and mystery
of God

B. The Ordinary half of the Church Year

1. Christendom

8 Sunday: The essence of the Church as a spiritual
and common priesthood
9 Sunday: The spiritual treasures of the community;
Word and baptism; Bible Sunday
10 Sunday: Liturgy and the Lord's Supper

11 Sunday: Ordered office and free gifts in the community; the highest gift

2. The Christian Life

12 Sunday: Tribute Sunday
13 Sunday: Confession of sin and forgivenss of sin; conversion and rebirth
14 Sunday: The assurance of faith and joy as the ground of new life
15 Sunday: Mary and Martha Sunday; regarding interior man
16 Sunday: Mystery of the spiritual life
17 Sunday: Samaritan Sunday
18 Sunday: Personal salvation: Christian virtues: perseverance and forebearance; clearsightedness and courage in conflict
19 Sunday: Liturgy in work and vocation; cheerful satisfaction without murmuring and envy; against Mammon
20 Sunday: Willingness to forgive; longsuffering and generosity toward the adversary; constancy and courage of faith for truth and belief; true following

3. House, Family and nationhood

21 Sunday: The Christian Home
22 Sunday: National thanksgiving Sunday for harvest and labor's produce

4. The eternal world of God; temporal and eternal development of the Church

23 Sunday: The mysterious transcendent and the transcendent mystery. The world of the angel of God as the symbol of the eternal, spiritual world at the throne of God
24 Sunday: The primary mystery
25 Sunday: All Souls and All Saints: Memorial of the dead
26 Sunday: Christ's return in Spirit and power, the Prince of Peace; the kingdom of Christ; perfection of the Church at the end of time: realization of the kingdom of God and Christ on earth
27 Sunday: Eternal perfection of the Church; the end of the guidance of God

C. Lesser moveable Feasts

1. Fatherland's Feast (Government Day)
2. Reformation Feast
3. Day of National Prayer
4. Gustavus Adolfus Day
5. Youth Sunday
6. John's Day and Summer Solstice
7. Thanksgiving for Work Day

D. Prayers

1. General Sunday prayers:
   a. General Sunday prayers
   b. After the presentation of gifts
   c. At the altar
   d. Intercessions according to John Chrysostom
   e. Short litany
   f. Long litany
   g. Major doxology
   h. Te Deum
   i. Trisagion
   j. Closing collect

2. Prayers for particular Sundays, e.g. the litany for the time of Advent concerning the coming of God.[87]

Otto sets forth a three year cycle of readings. This offers a richer variety of texts.[88] These readings are to give the theme for the Sunday Main Service, Morning and Evening Prayer, and to help shape the week-day services. Thus if one uses certain readings for the main services, the remaining readings should be used for the other services.

The idea of each Sunday having its own special character should be manifested in a visual artistic way. In the Eastern Church there is the practice that each Sunday has its own ikon which is displayed after the liturgy for the veneration of the faithful. This practice is not possible in the Protestant Church. Otto suggests that there might be a collection of good paintings relating to the various Sunday themes, e.g. Good Shepherd, Sermon on the MOunt, and these could be displayed on the respective Sundays on the left side of the chancel. Even poor congregations could afford to have such pictures printed for the congregation. Richer congregations can commission art works for this purpose.

The guiding point of view of the liturgical year is not to be constantly emphasized but should be ever in the background. The special character of each day should be developed against this background. Titles are given to the individual times, Sundays, and yearly cycles to facilitate the preaching. And while the texts for the individual Sunday should be unified, this should not be done in such a way that it violates the individuality of these texts. Thus the following points should be kept in mind:

(1) There are three yearly cycles of readings, not merely for greater variety but because one year is not enough time to exhaust the content of scripture.

(2) The texts are primarily "texts to be read." Therefore, they should be short. The preaching text should be chosen from the remaining readings of the day. Only if two longer texts are put together is it recommended to read one at the altar and use the other for preaching.

(3) The texts should be read one after the other without anything like a long hymn in between. Perhaps, there may be a short response by the congregation after the first reading. It is also recommended that the readings be divided between the minister at the altar and the assistant at the lectern.

(4) On special occasions the preacher can choose his texts according to his judgment.

(5) It should be obvious that the preacher can take into consideration in his sermon the texts which are read.

(6) Occasionally, one can have a divided sermon in connection with shorter individual texts.[89]

To exemplify Otto's three year cycle of readings, the texts for the First Sunday of Advent are given:

a) Theme: Coming of God in creation and governance of the world
b) Word of Prophecy: Isaiah 61:1-2
c) Psalm: Isaiah 40:10-13,22,26
d) Collect (each cycle has its own for each Sunday)
e) Gospel: Matt. 21:1-9 Praise be to him who comes in the name of the Lord
f) First Cycle: Beginning and end in God

    1 Reading: Isaiah 45: 11-13,18,19,22
    2 Reading: Romans 11:33-36 (From him and through him and to him)

g) Second Cycle: The coming

    1 Reading: Isaiah 2:2-4 (Coming salvation)
    2 Reading: Acts 17:22-28 (The waiting world)

h) Third Cycle

    1 Reading: Isaiah 26:1-9 (For we wait for you)
    2 Reading: Romans 1:18-20 (Concerning the creation of the world)

Eingangspsalmen für die Sonntage des Kirchenjahres[90]

This is a collection of psalms taken out of the Das Jahr der Kirche for the individual Sundays. They are first to be used by the minister and the members of the confirmation class and then used in the liturgy either at the very beginning or after the sermon at the beginning of the prayer service. They can be done antiphonally.

This manual contains the introit psalms done antiphonally between preacher and congregation or choir. The order of these psalms is fitted to the order of the Sundays as found in Das Jahr der Kirche. However, these psalms can easily be accommodated to the situation in which the preacher uses a psalm for his preaching text.

Also included in this volume are litanies which are to be done antiphonally in the same manner as the psalms. Provision is made for abbreviating the psalms.

Postille (Book of sermons):[91] Predigtrufe aller Zeiten an unsere Zeit in kurzen Lesungen für Wochen=Schul=und Hausandacten

This collection of sermons which was suggested by Otto differs from other such collections in that it is a modern Church-Postille. These sermons are concise and are suited to the tension of the times. They express the great consciousness of the contemporary Church. Over sixty different preachers give over ninety sermons. The preachers range from Gregory, Chrysostom, and Augustine to Kierkegaard and Barth, from Berthold of Regensburg to Sadhu Sundar Sing, from M. Luther to Heim and Ihmels. All are shaped in the spirit of the Reformation and the gospel. Social challenges of the day are considered.[92]

In his preface Otto says that the advantage of this collection is that it contains short concise sermons taken from different periods of the Church's life. The variety of the Christian witness is embodied in them. He hopes that they will be helpful to the individual, the home and the school. He regrets that worship seems limited to the Sunday Service and that there is not more liturgy during the week.

Weekday services have to be different in character from the main Sunday Service. They will be more like Evening Prayer, that is, a devotional service and one shaped for small groups. They will be more private in tone. They will mainly consist of scripture readings, prayers, songs, and psalms. However, the personalized sermon should not be absent. This would mean that on certain occasions a shortened sermon can be given as a "second sermon." This short sermon would be read. By this means the congregations will become aware of the important preachers of the past and present besides the preaching of their own preachers. Also this will be an opportunity to involve the layman more by having him read those sermons. For this purpose the Postille contains a division of the sermons according to the weeks and possible weekday services throughtout the year. This division is loosely connected with the division of pericopes found in Das Jahr der Kirche. These two manuals can easily be correlated.

The Postille has the following divisions:

1. Festal Time

Advent

Christmas	6-7
New Years	8
Epiphany	9
Good Friday	10-12
Easter	13-14
Ascension	15
Pentecost	16-17
Trinity	18
Thanksgiving	19
Reformation	20
Memorial of Dead	21

2. Worship of God

The grandeur of the Lord in his appearance	22
Altar of Spring	23
Works of God	24-25
Praise of God	26
Happiness of the sight of God	27
Eternity and beatitude	28

3. Christian life in the presence of God

Preparation of the Kingdom of God	29
Conversion	30
The Question of God	31
Similar Themes	32-48

4. Christian Life in the World

Awaiting the new world	49
Christ and the old world	50
Riches before the kingdom	51
Concerning possession	52
Love of the world and love of God	53
Similar themes	54-88

5. Death and Eternity

Concerning death	89
Transcendent hope	90
Concerning the eternal world	91
Between the worlds	92

The _Postille_ concludes with

(1) suggestions for prayers and songs for individual sermons and (2) the order of the Church year according to Otto's _Das Jahr der Kirche_.

Musical Supplement to Erneuerung[93]

This supplement contains the following musical selections:

1. The Lord's Prayer

It is introduced by the minister and continued by the congregation. The conclusion is repeated by the choir in four parts. The composer is unknown.

2. Words of Institution

They are sung by minister and congregation. The composer is unknown.

3. Greater Doxology

The music is for accompanied solo or congregational singing. The music is by Hermann Stephani (Op. 33, no. 16). Stephani was a professor of music at the University of Marburg.

4. Doxology

Music for mixed choir. Music by Stephani (Op. 33, no. 15a).

5. Doxology

Music for accompanied solo or congregation. Music by Stephani (Op. 33, no. 15b).

6. Fatherland Song

Music for solo with organ or piano. The text is by Otto and the music by Stephani (Op. 33, no. 33).

7. Chorgebet for Fatherland's Day

Either spoken or sung antiphonally between the deacon and congregation or deacon (cantor) and choir.

8. Song for Memorial Sunday

Music for solo and by Stephani (Op. 33, no. 31) and text by Otto.

9. Song for Memorial Sunday

Four part song by Stephani (Op. 33, No. 31) and text by Otto.

10. Short Sung Creed (According to Luther)

Melody by Arnold Mendelssohn

11. Words for a Credal Hymn

It is taken from the Brunswick *Agenda*. The melody is that of the German hymn: "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her."

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Two

1. (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1925).

2. (Gotha: L. Klotz, 1926-30).

3. (Gotha: Leopold Klotz, 1927).

4. (Gotha: Leopold Klotz, 1927).

5. (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1927).

6. Erneuerung, pp. 59 ff.

7. Loc cit. This model service is reproduced in Meland, op. cit., p. 84-89.

8. Erneuerung, p. 63 ff. This service is reproduced in Religious Essays, pp. 55-59. In Theologische Blätter, 2 (June, 1923) columns 139-40, Otto gives his model service for the First Sunday of Advent. In structure it follows the Sunday Service with a preface. However, there are several divergencies from that format. This indicates that Otto did not consider any of his liturgies as inflexible models. The points in which this service differs from the model found in Erneuerung will be indicated in the analysis of individual elements. This Advent service will be referred to as First Advent.

9. Erneuerung, p. 67 ff.

10. Ibid., p. 72 ff. Die Christliche Welt, 39 (May 14, 1925) contains the identical service for Fatherland's Sunday. It is also known as Government day. See columns 434-438. In a later issue of the same periodical (column 1055) Otto gives a report on the use of the Fatherland's Day Service. While conceding to changes for specific congregations, he does recommend that the psalm retain its natural form, namely, as an antiphonal prayer.

11. Erneuerung, p. 84ff.

12. Ibid., p. 91 ff.

13. Ibid., p. 93 ff.

14. This reading selection can also be taken from the Fathers.

15. Most of the scripture references that Otto gives for the second reading are not from the gospels, the exception being that for All Souls Sunday.

16. Otto specifies that here a verse of a hymn be sung.

17. This takes the form here of dismissal and doxology.

18. Erneuerung, p. 59.

19. On the board Chorgebet is abbreviated to Ch. Otto does indicate that while the hymn numbers should be posted, they should also be announced by the minister in a sober fashion. Otto realizes that this practice is in bad taste and is considered unliturgical, but he thinks it has a point.

20. Ibid., p. 72.

21. Otto does make a special rubrical note regarding the Evening Prayer service, namely, that the presbyter refers either to the minister or a lay assistant or lay presbyter. Any of these can conduct the service of the hours. In the beginning Otto suggests the use of a deacon and an experienced Helfer-chor. If the presbyter is a minister he can formulate the free prayer and give the homily. If a deacon or lay assistant is used, fixed texts should be read. Otto also notes that there is a rich variety of supplementary texts for the lessons in Linderholm's lectionary.

22. This is the case in the First Advent Service. In Die Christliche Welt, 39 (May 14, 1925) Otto observes that in the case where the minister sings at the altar, this singing can be alternated with spoken prayers. The singing of altar prayers is more a chanting than a full song style. However, where singing at the altar is not customary, it would be better that the congregation speak its responses rather than sing them for a sung response to a spoken proclamation is only half a job.

23. The First Advent Service has three readings, the first being from the prophets.

24. In the First Advent Service the minister reads the first reading from the prophets from the altar. The deacon and congregation respond with the triple Alleluia. The choir sings an antiphonal psalm. The deacon reads the Epistle from the lectern. This Epistle corresponds to the first reading of the other services and the rest of the liturgy of the Word of First Advent is similar to the other services.

25. On Fatherland's Day the collection is for the widows and orphans of those fallen in war. In the First Advent Service the deacon takes the offerings to the altar at this time.

26. In the First Advent Service the minister stays at his place at this time. Otto notes that the occasional announcement of notices and banns is in place if they are given in a moderate and unaffected way. After all, says Otto, it is helpful to the congregation to be notified that the church roof or organ bellows need repairing. However, it is quite out of place to speak of the roof and bellows in an unctuous fashion or in some kind of liturgical style. Such a pause for announcements gives the

congregation a chance to relax before collecting itself again for the prayer service.

27. The rubrics of the First Advent Service state that the deacon lights the third and fourth candles and adds the fifth and sixth on high festivals.

28. Die Chrisliche Welt, 35 (1921), 921-33 contains Otto's translation of a prayer service from Oremus, an office book for the use of missionary communities and others who pray for India. It was published in London in 1921. This service is composed of a litany or a series of collects to which the congregation responds "We praise and acknowledge you." There is a modified preface and a Sanctus, a silent service, the Lord's Prayer, a closing prayer, a dismissal, a doxology, and a closing song. This really corresponds to the last part of Part III of the services under consideration here.

29. In the First Advent Service if the preface and Sanctus are omitted, this becomes a congregational hymn of adoration and the creed is spoken, not sung.

30. The First Advent Service gives two alternate forms for the creed: (1) The minister says: "Let us confess our Christian Faith." The congregation follows with one of the antiphonal pieces. (2) The minister intones without accompaniment: "We believe in one God." The deacon and congregation continue the singing using one of the short creeds or one of the credal hymns from the hymn book.

One can get a good idea of Otto's criteria for a good creed from his review of a credal hymn that he did in Die Christliche Welt, 25 (1911), column 922 ff. In a review of a sung creed (music by Arnold Mendelssohn and words by M. Luther) entitled, "Das Bekenntnislied," Otto praises the composition because it can easily be used in antiphonal form. The melody is easy to remember but not sentimental. The text has a beginning, middle, and end; each has its own special character, and is unified. The beginning is strong, festive, and objective; the middle is contemplative and slower in movement; the end gives hope of eternal salvation and is more subjective and melodic with an elevating movement.

Although it is possible that it be sung by a four part choir, Otto thinks that choral singing here would only replace community singing. But where this cannot be done by the congregation, or for reasons of festivity, it could be performed by a choir.

Otto wishes to prevent the arbitrariness connected with the use of creeds in some parts of Germany. Yet in order to have freedom in this area, he suggests admitting creeds which have proven themselves (those recommended by Smend) to the present hymn books. What he likes about the creed under review is that it is not merely something new but serves to substitute for the Apostles' Creed. It is sufficiently traditional (springing from Luther) and yet leaves room for contemporary man to respond to it.

D. C. W., 38 (January 1924) contains a creed and prayer by Otto. Column 1.

31. This is also true for the First Advent Service.

32. Otto has been severely criticized for this practice. Walter Reindell in his essay, "The Prefaces," Leiturgia, 2, 514, considers it "hochst unbefriedigend." Basically he also criticizes Otto for his lack of respect for tradition in his use and positioning of the prefaces in his services.

In the First Advent Service Otto uses for the Sanctus only the following text: "Holy, holy, holy, all the world is full of his glory." The Benedictus, Hosanna, and Agnus Dei are reserved for the Lord's Supper Service.

33. In Die Christliche Welt, 37 (November 8, 1923), columns 669-671, Otto has translated into German from the English (with some changes) a Litany of Work. Otto refers to efforts in England to update the Book of Common Prayer. The Anglo-Catholic Movement tends to look back at the Roman Mass. But there are also attempts to modernize the liturgy. This litany is taken from A New Prayer Book with a forward by the Bishop of Manchester, William Temple. It was published in London in 1923. The litany is taken from part III of the book and appears in the German translation of Linderholm's Neues Evangelienbuch.

34. The Sunday Service without a preface has a litany for the Church and community. In this place the First Advent Service has the minister say the Prayer of the Church, which is divided into two parts, after each of which the deacon and congregation answer "Amen." After the entire prayer, they respond with the triple "Amen."

35. In the First Advent Service it is: "Lord our God, may you be near in our midst, that our souls may be healed in the light of your face."

36. The First Advent Service seems to indicate three strokes of the bell each time.

37. Otto gives references to his musical supplement in Erneuerung for the rendering of the Lord's Prayer.

38. In the First Advent Service Otto says that the reason for the ringing of the church bells at this time is that during the Lord's Prayer those who could not be present (such as the ill) might participate by uniting themselves in prayer with the celebrating community.

39. In the First Advent Service Otto also allows the substitution of a hymn verse for the closing prayer.

40. Die Christliche Welt, 38 (May 8, 1924), column 305, contains the text of a hymn by Otto. The hymn is entitled "Greeting of the Sunday" and is for use at the conclusion of a service held on Saturday night.

41. Actually this division is not completely accurate. When one fills in the structure of the simple service from the various options given in the manuals edited by Otto, it is a full service. Nevertheless, in the skeletal form that Otto gives in Religious Essays, it is the simplest

of the three.

42. Erneuerung, p. 84 ff. This is F of Otto's model services. It can also be a liturgy of the Word only as described in the first part of this chapter.

43. Pp. 79 ff. It is E of the model services and is simply entitled: "Die Abendmahlsfeier."

44. Pp. 62-67 "A form for Celebrating the Lord's Supper."

45. Reproduced from Religious Essays with some emendations from Otto's article, "The Lord's Supper and Its Celebration According to Evangelical Principles," Anglican Theological Review, 13 (January 1931), 1-15. In this article Otto reproduces his simple service.

46. The confession service in both the elaborate and full services is held before the service starts.

47. Otto entitles the entire liturgy of the Word in the simple service as the confession service.

48. This is a series of versicles and responses: "Lord have mercy; Christ, have mercy; Lord, have mercy."

49. This is a free text. It is not clear from the rubrics whether Otto intended two or one reading for this service.

50. All three elements: the Alleluia, the solo, the hymn, constitute the response to the first reading.

51. Although the postlude really brings the first part of the service to a close, both the elaborate and full services have elements which seem to be loosely placed between the first and second parts and belong to neither.

52. This can also be (in this service) a short anthem or organ solo.

53. Or an anthem.

54. I am concerned here with the elements which are for the most part peculiar to the services as communion services. Analyses of elements already adequately treated in the previous section on the liturgies of the Word are omitted here.

55. The method employed for the versicle/response part of the confession of sins is:

Minister: versicles: some of which are the texts of the commandments, some of which refer to virtues and other appropriate concerns.

Congregation: responses: either some antiphonal prayer or short
pauses of silence for self-examination.

56. Actually these two sentences are said before the minister proceeds to distribute the bread.

57. See the analysis of the musical supplement of Erneuerung later in this chapter.

58. The favorite hymn being Ich hab von fern, Herr Deinen Thron erblickt.

59. Otto did this in collaboration with one of his students, Gustav Mensching. It went through a second edition of three to four thousand copies in 1928. The Chorgebete is part of the Aus der Welt der Religion series done with the assistance of Otto and Niebergall and edited by Mensching. This volume belongs to the practical theology series, installment three.

60. P. iii.

61. It also includes readings and music for Otto's services. These are readings from the Old and New Testaments plus litanies and creeds. There are some services at the end of the book.

62. P. vi.

63. That is, prayer for use in Morning Prayer. The same for Evening Prayer.

64. This litany is almost a service in itself. After a series of paragraph-like intercessions answered with the response: "We praise and acknowledge you," there is a brief preface with a Sanctus. There is an invocation; all kneel; silent worship as the bell rings three strokes three times; the congregation stands at the last stroke. Then follows the Lord's Prayer and the blessing.

65. This also has a preface-like intercession, a Sanctus, and silent worship.

66. It has this format:
1. Gradual psalm
2. Prayer of the day with preface (the prayer is taken from the Chorgebete and is placed in the middle of the preface). The Sanctus follows the preface.
3. Invocation and silent worship
4. Prayers of intercession
5. Lord's Prayer
6. Doxology

67. It has the following structure. The theme is the Church.

I. Liturgy of the Word

1. Organ prelude and entrance hymn
2. Introit (CH.12,v.1-4)
3. Kyrie
4. Gloria, greeting and collect (or free prayer or CH 10, v.y-z).
5. First scripture reading, stanza of a hymn, second reading. (If the readings are short they can be read one after the other. If the readings are found in the Chorgebete, they can be done antiphonally.)
6. Credal hymn or spoken creed followed by congregational hymn.
7. Sermon followed by pause for meditation accompanied by soft organ music. This leads over into a stanza of a hymn.

II. Offering and announcements

During the hymn the elders collect the offering. It is placed in a basin which is on a table on the left side of the sanctuary.

8. After the hymn the minister carries the basin to the altar and says the prayer found in the regular Sunday Services.
   Then follow the announcements with appropriate intercessions and possible participation (i.e. some response from the congregation). Then there is an organ or instrumental piece.

III. Prayer Service

9. Gradual psalm (CH 10). This can be done by cantor and choir. Or one can have appropriate musical numbers with settings for chorus, or quartet or solo.

10. Prayer of the day with Sanctus. It is inserted into the large or short preface. (See CH 121,2.) The prayer of the day refers to the character of the day and the sermon. It should frequently be free prayer. Where it is the custom, the minister sings the preface and when he gets to the words "through Christ our Lord" he goes over into speech. Then when he gets to the words "Lord, your majesty the angels praise..." he begins to sing again. The prayer of the day closes with the words "with them let our voices come before you and praying to you saying" and the congregation begins the Sanctus.

11. Prayer of intercession.

12. Invocation and silent worship (CH 121,4).
The invocation can be made by the minister in his own words or introduced by his own words. On Sundays with a special character, one can use special litanies instead.

13. Lord's Prayer (CH 156).

14. Closing:

    Greeting
    Versicle (CH 1, v. 1)
    Closing collect
    Blessing
    Closing hymn.

68. The structure resembles closely that of the liturgical hours already examined.

1. Congregational hymn
2. CH for M.P. CH 1
   CH for E.P. CH 2
3. Greeting
4. Collect: M.P.
   E.P.
5. Intercessions (CH 198 or 99. Close with 100)

If the long litany is used in the service, No. 5 above is omitted.

6. First reading: SS or Luther's Catechism or
   Luther's reformation writings or
   the Fathers or
   outstanding testimonials or old
   or contemporary prayers
7. Memorial prayer, if a memorial day
8. Creed (CH 72 or 122-27)
9. Second reading
10. Congregational hymn
11. Address: free or read
    Prayer: free or read
12. Announcements Greeting
13. Instrumental or organ interlude or hymn
14. Gradual psalm or piece by the choir
15. Introduction to the Sanctus or preface (CH 121)
16. Long litany or some other litany or a free prayer
17. Invocation and silent worship
18. Lord's Prayer and doxology
19. Closing collect: M.P.
    E.P.
20. Closing hymn

69. This is a group of references for various prayers and readings. They are from other manuals connected with Otto: Das Jahr der Kirche and Postille. References include scripture, M. Luther, Melanchton, Gustavus Adolfus, Savonarola, Schleiermacher, Otto of Bismarck and many others.

70. Postille (see below)
Gebetslieder zu dem Lesungen des Kirchenjahres-W. Knevels
(Liturgische Blätter, second series, no. 3)
Dichtergedankfeiern-W. Knevels
Brücken zum Ewigen-W. Knevels
Buch der Väter-edited by Knevels in collaboration with Otto, Walter Lehmann, and Herman Faber.
Schulandacten-G. Schümer. (This is good for short addresses for all the days of the year especially for morning and evening prayer.)

71. It was founded by Otto. Gustav Mensching did much of the editing with the help of René Wallau and W. Knevels.

72. This is taken from the preface by Mensching.

73. The services found in Vol. III, no. 1 are both entirely new and remodeled older ones. There is no attempt to unify the expressions in the various services since the diversity of the authors is respected. The services cover a wide range. The power of expression of the German language was a major concern in the selectivity. The services show a preference for the old German religious song which shows the close bond of German art and Christian devotion.

74. We are dealing here with only number one of this volume.

75. This was edited by Otto in collaboration with W. Knevels and G. Mensching.

76. Emmauel Linderholm was an Evangelical theologian born in 1872 in Hakarp, Sweden. In 1911 he was a *dozent* in Church History and in 1918 he became the ordinary professor of Church History and a member of Domkapitel in Uppsala. He was a child of the great Swedish revival and as a theologian he belonged to the history of religions school. His *From Dogma to Gospel* (1919, and later translated into Norwegian and Islandic) produced a bitter controversey in the churches which led to the demand for his resignation from ecclesiastical office.

77. All three collaborators added a number of prayers and model services for Sunday. Otto himself added a number of collects.

In *Theologische Blätter*, 2 (June 1923), 133 ff., Otto has an article on the renewal of the liturgy. The main preoccupation of the article is a review of Linderholm's lectionary. Otto feels that there is much in the book that can be used for reshaping the liturgy. For instance, the inclusion of an additional reading from the Old Testament to the traditional Epistle and Gospel. This may account for the fact that in the model service for the First Sunday of Advent which accompanies this review Otto employs three readings. Generally, however, he prefers two to three readings. And he says that abbreviation is easy to do. The Old Testament reading can be substituted for the Epistle or Gospel. The psalm after the Old Testament reading can serve as an introduction to the third part of the liturgy, especially as the first part of the "Great Prayer." It can be done antiphonally with the congregation.

Otto also likes the placement of the creed after the readings as an answer to the Word. But he says that since the sermon cannot be separated from the Word of God, the creed should be after the sermon.

Otto recommends a distinction between feast day liturgies which are rich in form and the ordinary liturgy which is simple.

Not only does Otto embrace free prayer, he also suggests the use of a large choice of parallel forms so that the minister can choose prayers according to the occasion. While there is a wealth of reading material in Linderholm's work, it should be enriched with prayers, especially such things as the "Prayer of the Church."

The preface and *Sanctus* should be limited to special occasions and not be found in every Sunday Service.

78. This is taken from the forward by Linderholm.

79. From the conclusion by Linderholm.

80. Otto says that Linderholm showed his proper understanding of the Christian religion when he selected the passages on the creation as the lessons for Advent. The whole doctrine of creation would have little interest for Christians if it were not the preparation of God's last advent (p. 71 of India's Religion of Grace).

At first it appears that Otto has misunderstood Linderholm since the latter said that Advent should not be concerned with the Second Coming. But possibly Otto was referring to the eschatological thrust given by Linderholm to the entire Church year and that creation placed at the beginning of the year in this context receives an eschatological emphasis.

81. The point is to have these mysteries present again each year, to go through them annually.

82. Actually, in the lectionary Otto lists the first seven, not six, Sundays after Trinity as part of the solemn part of the Church year.

83. The silent worship service is incorporated into some of the services, Christmas being one such occasion.

84. Since the time of Epiphany and pre-Lent is the period of the coming forth of the Savior in his works, these Sundays should be concrete in character and should avoid didacticism.

85. During Lent and the preparation for the passion, the passion itself must not be emphasized too quickly lest its impact be weakened. The idea is to follow Jesus on his way from Galilee, to the edge of Samaria, to the Jordan, to Bethany, to the Mt. of Olives, following the gospel narratives, especially as described in Luke from Ch. 9:51 to the time of the going up to Jerusalem. In this section from Luke we have many speeches and works of Jesus recorded. They furnish the material for six Sundays. This way the passion is not anticipated too soon, advantage is taken of the doctrinal content of the preaching of Christ and the "stations" of the cross are placed before our eyes successively.

86. Gerhard Kunze in "Die gottesdienstliche Zeit," Leiturgia, 1 (1954), lists Linderholm's approach to the Church year as one which attempted to organize the Church year according to a principle external to it rather than one which flows from the liturgical year itself. He is especially referring to Trinity time which manifests no inner necessity that it be organized according to an a priori external connecting uniformity. This was also the basic approach of the middle ages. Kunze sees no reason in emphasizing all the past ways of ordering the Church year so that we end up with a heteronomous principle of ordering. (p. 517)

87. This litany format includes the silent worship as well as the Lord's Prayer and a dismissal.

88. Of this approach initiated by Linderholm, Reformed liturgist Richard Paquier, says" "This system has the advantage of permitting whoever is present at worship every Sunday during three years to hear the essence of the Old Testament and the whole substance of the New. The triennial system of readings is of high origin and may revindicate a venerable tradition, since it was in force in the liturgy of the synagogues for the Sabbath at the time of Christ." _Dynamics of the Liturgy_ (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), p. 178.

89. In addition to the rubrics already indicated in his model services, Otto makes other rubrical suggestions. The _introit_, composed of antiphon and psalm, gives the tonality to the Sunday. Either the entrance antiphon can be read at the very beginning and the psalm placed at the beginning of the second part of the service leading into the prayer part. Or one can start with the psalm and use the antiphon as the beginning of the prayer service.

In many rural congregations, at the end of the service one of the confirmed speaks a concluding verse of the psalm.

90. This collection was made by Rudolf Otto and appeared as a supplementary issue of _Liturgische Blätter_, 2.

91. This is a collection by G. Petersmann=Borsdorff with an introduction by Otto.

92. At the suggestion of Otto, K. Handschin made a collection of sermons that could be used in the liturgy: _Albert Bitzius: nach dem Kirchenjahr ausgewählte Predigten_ (Gotha: Leopold Klotz, 1924).

93. In his article, "Neues Singen," _Die Christliche Welt_, 33 (1919), Otto says that ordinary prayers and songs are in the area of what he calls the rational. They often are lacking in the irrational or the numinous. Yet that is half of religion and its deeper mysterious basis. Contemporary poetry seldom takes it into account and even the great reverential hymns and the "Er-lieder" are lacking in it. Lutheran Church hymns are almost always "Du-lieder." These hymns are too direct, addressing God with a constant _Du_. The seraphim in Isaiah 6 do not presume to do this. And many splendid litanies of the old liturgies follow their example. The creature cannot always stand face to face with the Eternal Highest One. The hymns need the oblique reference as well as the frontal approach, the indirect reference with half averting glance and the covering of the face besides the direct address. This praying-meditating-speaking _of_ God rather than _to_ him is needed in the Church's music. And this applies not only to the hymns but to all prayers.

Otto also feels that we should use the impersonal or a-personal names for divinity in our hymns to signify the mysterious "more" of the irrational and the numinous which cannot be caught in our conceptual language. The personal pronouns do not translate this meaning adequately and so the neuter gender should be used in our hymns and prayers. It is a deficiency that devotional poetry employs almost only pictorial images of social relationships and personal names for the eternal mystery. Its character of mystery is lost because of this. Undoubtedly God is for us Du and a person. However, the Du addressed to him is really his turning toward us. It is, as it were, the foothills of a massif (central part of a mountain range), the view of which is lost along with the massif itself in the eternal darkness. And so to express this reality the lofty address and the hymn need a special means of expression.

CHAPTER III

RUDOLF OTTO'S LITURGICAL THEOLOGY

This chapter attempts to articulate and evaluate the strictly theological basis of Rudolf Otto's liturgical principles of reform and experimentation. This will be done by examining Otto's theology in the light of the key theological themes running through the contemporary liturgical movements.

Charles Davis, in his book, Liturgy and Doctrine,[1] points out that the inner directing force of liturgical development through the centuries has been the pastoral concern for the Church. The same factor alone explains the present liturgical movement.[2] It is a movement which is working for the renewal of the Christian life of ordinary people at its center and source. Davis describes the liturgical movement as such:

> It is a movement of pastoral renewal, intimately connected with the biblical and catechetical revivals. It is based on a work of doctrinal reflection that is having repercussions on most parts of Catholic doctrine and theology.[3]

The importance of Davis' observations is that while any liturgical movement, including that of Otto and those of his persuasion, is a pastoral concern, it is based on definite theological presuppositions. Any attempt to understand the particular liturgical emphasis of a man must concern itself with the doctrinal basis of his liturgical work and principles. And in the case where a particular theologian's liturgical theology has not been explicated in a formal way, as in the case of Otto, a formulation of these theological presuppositions is tantamount to reconstructing his liturgical theology.

Davis indicates several areas of doctrinal renewal which underlie the present liturgical movement: (1) the Risen Christ, (2) the History of Salvation, (3) the Church, (4) Liturgy and Mystery, (5) Sacrifice and Sacraments, and (6) Eschatology. These elements listed by Davis seem to be the foundational theological structure for a liturgical theology. In my judgment, these themes are the underlying theological ones of the Sacred Constitution on the Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council. They are the themes that have achieved recognition among Roman Catholic, Anglican and Protestant liturgists as valid norms for judging the balance of an individual theologian's liturgical theology. And so it is my attempt here to reconstruct Otto's liturgical theology by showing his own understanding of each of these doctrinal themes.

Each theme will be examined (mystery will be handled in Chapter Four) in the light of Otto's own specific contribution. I shall attempt to concretize his emphasis on each theme by specific references to his particular liturgical ideas and practices which are the subject matter of Chapters One and Two. I shall also criticize Otto's contribution to each theological theme for the points he omits, underdevelopes, or overemphasizes. By utilizing the main points of doctrinal emphasis behind the present liturgical movement, it will become apparent in which areas Otto has made a great contribution, little contribution, or no contribution at all.

In each section of this chapter devoted to one of the five theological themes, I shall explicate the main elements of each theme by a series of summary statements. Under each statement I shall discuss Otto's own contribution. This chapter will end with a recapitulative series of conclusions regarding Otto's liturgical theology.

The Risen Christ

Statement 1:

> The Incarnation is the highest possible communication of God to a creature. It is the source of our salvation. The man, Christ, is the principle inserted into created reality from which every further communication of divine love comes. We have to be brought to the Father through Christ.

Otto is in agreement with this statement. In The Idea of the Holy in speaking about divination in Christianity today,[4] he says that by an immediate underivable judgment of pure recognition, one intuits that if there is a God and he chose to reveal himself, he could do it in no other way than he did. This intuition is independent of exegesis or the authority of the early Church. It leads to a series of further intuitions regarding the person, work and words of Christ. Otto says:

> And these are further intuitions which have the same origin: the intuition by which we recognize in Christ the portrayal and presentiment of God, divining in His agony and victory, His redemptive search and love, the very stamp and signature of God; the intuition of his "Sonship," by which we recognize Christ as the "only begotten," the called, the fully empowered with deity, as one whose being, only made possible and intelligible of God, repeats and reveals the divine nature in human fashion; or the intuitions of the "new covenant," of adoption and reconciliation through Christ, of his life-work and self-surrender to God as sacrifice and as a warrant of divine grace.[5]

In my judgment, here Otto achieves the same basic emphasis as is found in the first statement.

Statement 2:

> This movement to the Father could not immediately follow the Incarnation because Christ had humbled himself and became subject to suffering and death.

> This was achieved by the resurrection. Jesus has been exalted as the source of life so that Christian life is a share in his risen life. Christ has become life-giving in his humanity. The Risen Christ is the mediator between man and the Father.

Otto is in basic agreement with this statement but his perspective is different. First of all, it is not the risen Christ but the suffering Christ who dominates in *The Idea of The Holy*.[6] For instance, Otto says:

> It is, in the last place, clear that it is in the Passion and death of Christ that the objects of the strongest religious intuition must be sought. If His Incarnation, His mission and the manner of His life come to be considered as a piece of self-revelation, in which an eternal Will of Love is mirrored, before all else is this Love and Faith seen accomplished in the Passion. The Cross becomes in an absolute sense the "mirror of the eternal Father" (speculum aeterni Patris): and not of the "Father" alone--the highest rational interpretation of the holy, but of Holiness as such.[7]

For Otto, the reason that Christ is the climax of the history of salvation and of religious evolution is that he repeats in an absolute way "that most mystical of all the problems of the Old Covenant, the problem of the guiltless suffering of the righteous."[8] On Golgotha the solution to the problem is repeated and surpassed. In the words of Otto:

> The Cross of Christ, that monogram of the eternal mystery is its completion. Here rational are enfolded with non-rational elements, the revealed commingled with the unrevealed, the most exalted love with the most awe-inspiring "wrath" of the numen, and therefore, in applying to the Cross of Christ the category "holy," Christian religious feeling has given birth to a religious intuition profounder and more vital than any to be found in the whole history of salvation.[9]

In *The Idea of the Holy* there is also the intuition of Christ as mediator. In this intuition the abyss between creature and creator is not diminished but increased by the deeper knowledge that comes from the

Gospel. There is a tendency of the mind, it is true, to see Christ as a mediator even where it is not prepared for and sustained by the traditional cult of sacrifice.[10] But Otto sees this as "a natural religious instinct, due to the pressure of numinous experience and to nothing else."[11]

In his last major work, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, Otto asks the question: how did Jesus conceive his exaltation and its connection with his death? His answer is:

> He did not contemplate a bodily revivification and resurrection after his death, but that he would depart and be exalted like Enoch, and, from the time when he recognized that "The son of Man must suffer," he thought of death itself as a direct gateway to exaltation. The Messianism of Enoch, which he followed, led to this consequence. His own original words still express the conviction, and it was the earliest conception of the Christian community.[12]

Several points of Otto's Christology are implied in this statement. (1) Christ believed that on the arrival of the end of time, God would take him away and hide him until He sent him as the Son of Man appearing in power. (2) Christ was convinced that his translation, his hiding with God, and his exaltation would take place through his death, but that he would not remain in death, but conquer it. His conviction is the basis that Peter and the rest believed they saw him after death. But this implies neither bodily revivification nor an empty tomb.[13] (3) Jesus, as distinct from the Sadducees, recognized a resurrection and a corporeal one. But his conception of it was a life with God, a life renewed from death.[14] The vivification of the body was not necessarily included.

What Otto is saying is that Christ's exaltation into Paradise and into his Kingdom took place not from a grave but from the cross.[15]

> Because he voluntarily suffered death, the kingdom belonged first to himself as his own inheritance. Only through him and with him would the disciples become the immediate heirs of the kingdom. In other words, he was the mediator of the covenant for them; he was a "covenant mediator."[16]

Otto finds this conception to be in line with Enoch's apocalyptic eschatology of the Son of Man. At the same time it is explicitly in harmony with the eschatology of Isaiah's servant of God.

So, while it is impossible to maintain that Otto is at variance with the second statement, it is clear that his emphasis is not the same. Only in his later works does the resurrection achieve a place at least equal to that of the cross in the redemptive activity of Christ. Yet, Otto does clearly state that Christ is a mediator and that he became mediator when he was exalted. One becomes an heir to the kingdom of heaven through Christ by means of his resurrection. And resurrection means here not bodily resuscitation but the conquering of death and a new life with God. It is Christ's exaltation from the cross that makes him life-giving for the Christian.

Statement 3:

> The full effects of the Spirit were not produced in Christ until the resurrection. The Spirit has united Christ as man to his Father. The Spirit unites us to Christ and joins us to the Father through our union with Christ.

The closest Otto comes to a discussion of this statement is in an appendix to The Idea of the Holy, "The Resurrection as a Spiritual Experience,"[17] where he indicates the relationship of the resurrection experience to the Spirit. But even here the concern is more with the workings of the Spirit on those who had resurrection experiences than on the effects of the Spirit itself produced in Christ. In other words, a developed Trinitarian theology is missing in Otto. He is mainly concerned with knowledge of the Risen Christ rather than describing the movement back through Christ to the Father. He, of course, does not deny the latter.

In answering the question how does one understand the resurrection, Otto says that when speaking of the Risen Christ, we are speaking of mystery and something which is the object of faith. It is not something open to scientific knowledge. It is rather a question of faith-knowledge. Thus, both the naïvely supernaturalistic and the rationalistic interpretations must be excluded when discussing the Risen Christ.[18] In rejecting the former, Otto discards the empirical argument based on the empty tomb as well as that which posits that the Risen Christ was perceived by the senses. This approach reduces the resurrection experience to one of empirical knowledge rather than one of faith. The rationalistic argument is also rejected, namely, that Jesus made such a deep impression on his disciples that after his death they grew in the conviction that such a one could not remain dead. This conviction took the subjective form of imaginings and visions. Both lines of thought miss the unique quality of the resurrection and the fact that it is a mystery.

For Otto the resurrection experiences were mystical and came from the Spirit. He says: "It is only of the Spirit that the higher knowledge is born."[19] Otto feels that anyone who knows anything of the Spirit[20] and its miraculous nature, who feels in himself the Spirit active in those mysterious experiences that build Christian life will reject both kinds of explanation just mentioned. Only the Spirit can explain these experiences as only the Spirit can explain the whole of the scriptures.

One must have a first-hand spiritual experience in order to judge a previous spiritual experience. Otto calls the possession of the Holy Spirit at first hand a "faculty of retrospective prophecy," the ability to recognize again.[21]

> And so only on the basis of a first-hand religious experience, of and from the Spirit, is there any possibility of obtaining a real and genuine historical knowledge of these things, for only such an experience is acquainted with and can estimate the effect of all the factors of the explanation.[22]

Such mystical experiences that the prophets of the Old Testament had, e.g. Isaiah's experience in the temple, as well as the visions of Jesus at his baptism and transfiguration are to be understood as objectively real occurrences. They are visions of call and ordination. But as Otto points out, the essential and unshakeable truth here does not lie on the level of phenomenological description but in the knowledge and assurance that is born of the Spirit.[23]

Paul's experience on the way to Damascus is a spiritual experience of the Risen Christ and is a vision of calling and ordination. But the essential element in this experience is that Christ lives, he is the conqueror of the cross and death, he is the exalted of God. How Paul saw him, whether as a radiant royal figure or merely as dazzling light, was supplied by the current ideas regarding royal splendor and messianic kingship.[24] Paul's experience was the first in a whole series of spiritual happenings that developed in him and his congregations. These are the "gifts of the Spirit."

But Paul and his converts were not the first to receive the new revelation of the Risen Christ and these spiritual gifts were possessed by the CHristians of Jerusalem from the first.[25] And the important thing is that the meaning of the Christian knowledge given us through faith is that Christ who really died was brought to life again by God and perfected in glory in God's eternal life. And man lives in expectation of that same life with him. This knowledge can only be born of the Spirit.

As regards the narratives of the empty tomb, Otto classifies those with the infancy narratives -- legends -- attempts to explain the relationship of the supernatural to the temporal in terms of contemporary thought. Their enduring value is in symbolizing the mystery involved. Thus, their importance in pictorial art and hymns. One can utilize them honestly if one keeps in mind (1) that there is a fringe of legend which surrounds the entire narrative of scripture, (2) that there is value and beauty in the biblical narrative even where it is of the nature of legend, and (3) that the eternal Spirit of God, the Spirit of revelation and truth is also present in holy saga and legend.[26]

The important point here is that although Otto is mainly concerned with one's knowledge of the resurrection, a knowledge achieved through the Spirit, yet this knowledge presupposes that Christ has arisen and is exalted, a necessary presupposition to one's movement back to the Father through Christ in the Spirit. Otto has not developed this notion to any degree, however.[27]

Statement 4:

The death and resurrection of Christ mark the beginning of the end of the world. They introduce the final order of things into human history. They have mainly an eschatological thrust. The resurrection of Christ makes possible and is a type of man's bodily resurrection.

Again, while Otto agrees with the thrust of the statement, he has his own perspective. While it is one which places a great deal of emphasis on the eschatological, his discussion takes the form of Christ's consciousness of his messiahship.

In his book, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, while discussing the reasons for the eclipse and disappearance of the idea of the kingdom as dawning already, Otto puts forth his view of Christ's consciousness of his mission. This means for Otto that Jesus knew himself as the Messianic king while he journeyed and taught here on earth only as the claimant to the throne of the kingdom of heaven. The kingdom was not yet his. Only later would he inherit it at his death and resurrection. The kingdom is in front of him. He does not bring it or create it. It comes of itself and brings him as the "Christus designatus." It is not he who has won the victory over the adversary, but this victory is completed in his earthly activity.

In Otto's opinion, Christ's consciousness of his messiahship differed from that of the Church. He regarded himself as "Christus designatus" while the Church when it knew him as raised from the dead thought of him as the Messiah who had already appeared. Basically, what Otto is saying is that the eschatological dimension was pushed into the background. The regnum Christi, the kingdom of the Risen Christ drew attention to itself and obscured the idea of the regnum Dei.[28]

Otto says that Christ's christology followed the lines of apocalyptic eschatology.[29] This means that

> Christ knew himself to be the one in whom divine victory was achieved and in whom the powers of the kingdom as saving forces were already operative.[30]

It also means that Jesus identified himself with the organ of Divine Wisdom.[31] He does not summon men to Wisdom as a mere expert or teacher, but like Wisdom he calls men to himself. The existence of the Son of Man is twofold: "On the one hand, he will exist in the future 'with power,' but is still hidden with God before his power."[32] Power will be bestowed on Christ at the end of days. In the meantime the world has not learned of his secret, but God has revealed him to the circle of his elect, the disciples.

Otto does emphatically hold in agreement with the statement above that it is the death and resurrection which mark the beginning of the end of time in so far as this is the time when Christ inherits the kingdom. Although Otto wishes to subordinate the regnum Christi to the regnum Dei, he says that Jesus knew that the kingdom was already working in him. Otto's claim that power will be bestowed on Christ at the end time indicates that eschatology dominated his Christology.

As regards the resurrection of the body, Otto warns that one must not give the impression that it is a spatial idea, as if heaven, God's eternal realm, is somewhere high above man. God's eternity is apart from space and time. Resurrection does not mean immortality which is a denial of any real state of death. It means restoration from real death to real life.[33]

> It is not the body merely, but the man that dies; and it is as soul as well as body that he sinks into the state of death, "the dread night of death," from which he can only be delivered and raised up by the power of God.[34]

Bodily resurrection for St. Paul is not a raising up of the old body or of the flesh. Resurrection is the bestowal of a new and quite other spiritual body by God.

I think it is reasonable to assert that implied in this is that only through Christ's resurrection is our own bodily resurrection made possible. Otto presumes the Pauline understanding of the connection between the two.

The Church

Statement 1:

> Christ is the Lord of the Church and the principle of its life. The Church arises out of the mission of the Son from the Father. The Spirit is the dynamic principle uniting the Church to Christ, conveying the life of Christ to the Church and drawing the Church through Christ to the Father.

Once what Otto has said about Christ and the Church is pieced together, it becomes clear that he was in substantial agreement with this statement.

In The Life and Ministry of Jesus, he says that the new religion of Jesus was not the product of reflection or thought or philosophical speculation.

> It was the spontaneous result of his religious and genial individuality, a veritable spring issuing from depths that no scientific, psychological analysis could fathom or laws of development explain.[35]

Because Jesus had experienced God in his own life, because he realized he was the Son of God, he knew that those who would partake of his fullness would receive the same blessings.

In The Idea of the Holy, Otto finds the origin of the Church in divination in primitive Christianity. It does not come from something that Jesus said regarding himself. Christ's own first disciples must have had a spontaneous and original divination of Christ as being "holiness made manifest."[36] Otherwise, how could the Church come into existence at all? Proclamation and authoritative statements cannot bring out the kind of certainty and impelling strength, the power to maintain and assert itself which were necessary if the Christian community were to come into existence. These are its unmistakeable characteristics.

Otto says that in trying to find out the way in which the Church started it is not enough to try to reconstruct the facts solely by the methods of modern scholarship. One should study analogous existing situations which give rise to religious communities. He suggests the "holy men" of the Mohammedan and Indian world. These "holy men" or "prophets," despite the high percentage of imposters, are men of wonder and mystery. They belong to the side of the numen itself. Of the holy man Otto says:

> It is not that he himself teaches that he is such, but that he is experienced as such. And it is only such experiences, which, while they may be crude enough and result often enough in self-deception, must at least be profoundly and strongly felt, that can give rise to religious communities.[37]

The founding of the Church is to be seen in terms of the establishing of a covenant and a sacred community, an action which is a sanctifying act of divine election, an action by which a group of men are drawn out of the profane sphere and consecrated, purified, and expiated. Christ is the mediator of this action and union with him is raising to a new and higher level the expiatory covenant of the Old Testament.[38]

Otto affirms that what arose from the Christ experience was not a school but a Church that knew that it was rescued for the eschatological order because it belonged to a Savior. "The Church did not produce, but was produced by, that Messianic faith, and without that faith it would not have come into being."[39]

Otto very definitely kept the connection between Jesus and the Church.

The Church was filled with the Spirit in the same way as the historic Jesus had been a pneumatic. For Otto Christ was a charismatic. The continuity between Jesus and the Church is ultimately

> that the Spirit is identical with the eschatological order itself as δύναμις working in advance, and this is the very μυστήριον which Jesus proclaimed, felt, and knew to be working in himself, viz, the kingdom.[40]

In sum, Christ is seen as Lord and mediator of the Church. The Church is the fruit of his covenantal mission. The Spirit is identified with the eschatological power uniting Christ and the Church, drawing both back to the Father.

Statement 2:

> The Church exists on the level of a permanent institution and community and on the level of an event. On the level of community Christians live together as members of a corporate body and as an organic whole.

While Otto agreed that the Church was an institution and a community, his theology of the Church was neither sectarian nor inner-directed. The real world is the necessary sphere of genuine and complete service for the believer. "The Christian needs the world, as a complex of events, for the sphere in which he tests himself by cross, exercise, discipline, for the school of faithfulness in service."[41]

The Christian needs the world as the possible material in which to fulfill God-given tasks which he recognizes in his perception of values. He is to promote the tasks of what in secular ethics is called general culture and civilization. Otto embraced the Benedictine motto: *ora et labora*. Social and cultural ethics is necessary for a developed Christianity.

As was noted in Chapter One, Otto wanted to build up the Church not only through inner directed activity such as religious education, preaching, and more general participation on the part of all in Church government, he also wanted to accomplish this by such outer directed activity as care for the poor and underprivileged.

Otto had a negative assessment of the institutionalization of the Church, especially in terms of his eschatological thrust. In The Idea of the Holy, Otto emphasizes the eschatological aspect of the early Church.[42] The early disciples called themselves the holy ones or the "saints." But this does not refer to their moral perfection. "It means the people who participate in the mystery of the final day."[43] The title, "the holy ones," is in antithesis to the profane. For this reason the early Christians called themselves "priestly people," by which they meant a group of "consecrated" persons. But this presupposes the preaching of the gospel and its claim to be the preaching of the coming kingdom.

In The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, Otto maintains that the experience of the kingdom was the implicit experience of the explicit experience of the Spirit. The sphere and rule of the Spirit was the early community. This gradually crystallized into the Church. The existence of the Church is the effect of the fact that the kingdom had come, had bound men together, had extended its power in miraculous growth. The Church became the reality that stood before the eyes of its members and claimed their interests. The implicit becomes explicit and then becomes the rival of the more original experience.

> Precisely as a concrete ecclesiastical form and idea, the Church was now also a competitor of the original idea of the kingdom, and necessarily overshadowed the latter in its primitiveness as well as with respect to its purely mysterious meaning, which was not related at all to empirical structure, organization and sociological form.[44]

Along the same line Otto holds that charisma is an essential element in the Church. This charisma is an anticipation of the eschatological order. He feels, however, that the Church today has lost its charisma, that men look back to it as a thing of the past, that they make it and the inbreaking of the kingdom trivial by allegories. All this is a sign of decay.[45]

Yet it would be a grave mistake to conclude that Otto was anti-community or anti-institutional in his ecclesiology, that his idea of the Church was too "spiritualistic." Chapter One indicated that Otto viewed the best situation of the Church as a circle of brotherhood, a small visible community in which each knows each other. He wished to revive the notion of the _congregatio fidelium_. This accounts for his emphasis on the separation of Church and state. Only in this way can the Church be a completely free and voluntary association and so better in quality. This also explains his emphasis on forming Christian community by overcoming fragmentation through improved preaching.

Statement 3:

> _On the level of event the Church is the liturgical assembly. In this assembly the Church in a given place achieves its fullest manifestation and greatest actuality. It is here that the Christian meets the Church in the concrete. The liturgical assembly is the expression and cause of the Church._

There are only hints in Otto's liturgical work that would indicate that he considered the liturgical assembly as the Church as event, that it is here that the Christian meets the Church most expressly and concretely. It has been noted that Otto does say that worship builds up not many individuals at random, but a group which is the unifying subject of community. Otto stresses that prayer must take place in an ecclesial context. The individual does not pray privately in the liturgy but as a member of a gathered celebrating community and the community prays in him.

Otto hoped that the congregation as a unit could be built up by antiphonal prayer, responsorial readings and litanies. He recounts his experiences in India and at home liturgies in Germany where the communal use of psalmody created a sense of community, of the whole community at prayer. And the whole point of the silent worship in the services was to achieve the corporate mystical experience of the congregation.

Otto could be construed as maintaining that the liturgy is the cause and expression of the Church but that he would have considered the liturgy as the moment of the Church's fullest actuality and manifestation is not clear. He might have been able to bring himself to agreement with the reality expressed by the words, but his own ecclesiology is not sufficiently developed to conclude to full agreement on this point. As a matter of fact, at times Otto seems to be going in the other direction.

And so any discussion of the relationship between the liturgy and the Church in Otto must take cognizance of the criticism that Otto's approach tended to be individualistic and to that degree, anti-liturgical. A representative and incisive example of this kind of criticism is that made by Eric Werner. He criticizes Otto for supposing that the isolated expressive religious symbol is characterized by evoking the _mysterium tremendum_ and nothing further. This is to forget the importance of the liturgical community. According to Werner religious symbols are not independently religious and they do not refer only to religious experience. This would presuppose that religious experience is an isolated phenomenon rather than an aspect of the whole world in its mystery.

Werner admits that symbols and sacraments communicate Otto's awe-filling fascinating quality of existence that eludes definition. This makes religion real. But religious experience does not exist in isolation. "It is not a quality in a world of qualities, one flower in a large bouquet. It is primordially, a quality in the character of the whole world."[46]

Religious symbols find their vitality in the liturgical community, not the profane community. Werner goes so far as to say that there is no such thing as religious experience except in the liturgical community or under an influence carried away from this community.

> Liturgy is the experience, at once wholly conventional and artificial, like a visit to the ballet or a trip to the picture gallery, and radically immediate and comprehensive in our experience.[47]

The religious symbol interprets life, self and experience, but not something beyond this.[48]

Sacraments are archetypes for our religious experience. They give direct immediate experience of the mystery. They express definitely. Nothing indefinitely exists. Even the mysterium tremendum does not exist unless it happens. The liturgical community is the living society for these familiar forms of faith. Religion owes a fundamental debt to liturgy. Liturgy cannot be severed from community and myth remain alive. Liturgy is religion's active custodian, its instrument for new expression. It is liturgical community that keeps our definition of religion, not dictionaries and philosophers.

Whether one agrees with Werner or not, he does point up the importance of the relationship of the religious symbols to the liturgical community. He highlights the fact that in Otto this relationship is not adequately expressed. On the other hand, Werner may exaggerate the degree to which Otto considered religious experience as an isolated phenomenon. After all, it was Otto's interest in religious experience that provoked his interest in liturgical reform. Again, Werner may be in danger of equating religious experience and liturgical experience. But nevertheless, he does show that there is a necessary relationship between liturgy and religious experience and that Otto has not given us a sufficient explanation of why he thought it necessary to relate the two. In other words, while there is a definite relationship of worship and ecclesiology on the practical level for Otto, he has not given a theoretical explanation of it.

Statement 4:

> The assembly of the People of God is the privileged place for the proclamation of the Word. It is the living Christ who speaks to us when the scriptures are read and the homily preached. It is the place where Christ's redemptive work is sacramentally renewed. The liturgy is the public worship offered by the whole Christ, head and members.

Otto would have been in basic agreement with the fourth statement. He has said that the Protestant Church is the Church of the Word and must remain so. His emphasis on preaching was clearly shown in Chapters One and Two. He would have had no difficulty in assenting to the fact that the liturgy is the privileged place for the proclamation of the Word and that through the Word Christ speaks to us. Otto also had a deep sense of the sacramentality of liturgical worship as is seen in his concern for eucharistic liturgy and the silent worship. As will be noted later, the fact that the eucharistic service did not play such an important role in his liturgical reforms may be due less to a theological position than to the practicalities of introducing reform into the Church's life of his time.

Otto saw liturgy as public worship offered by the Church but he did not express it in the Pauline terms of head and members. However, there is no reason to believe that he would deny this part of the statement. Because of Otto's rather negative attitude to the Roman Catholic Church, he would not have expressed himself in terms similar to the Roman Catholic theologians of his time who attempted to express the relationship of Christ to the Church in terms of the thought of St. Paul.

The History of Salvation

Statement 1:

> God is the Lord of history which is moving towards an end in which God's plan will be achieved. The history of salvation which implies a linear, evolutionary view of history, is a particular line of events in each of which faith sees the special intervention of God. Faith refers not to a list of truths but to the story of God's love and entering into history. Redemption in the concrete is redemptive history.

Otto addresses himself to the fact that the history of salvation is evolving toward the end time. His treatment of this point has two different emphases: (1) the history of salvation in terms of the eschatological kingdom and (2) the history of salvation as the ever-growing self-revelation of the divine.

Regarding the first, Otto sees the eschatological kingdom as an essential part of God's nature. In speaking about the fact that there is no essential trait in the gospels which has not had its prototype in the Old Testament relationship between God and his people, Otto says this applies especially to the central thought of the gospel, the kingdom of heaven. As he puts it, it applies to

> that final goal, that overwhelming *Heil* towards which all the ways of God with mankind are directed, the realization of final salvation at the ultimate end of time, for the effectual realization of the dominion of Jahweh is the very essence of the idea of the covenant itself."[49]

The kingdom is the final achievement of *Heil*. It is the ultimate goal.

> And if there had been no eschatological kingdom declared in the beginning, promised in prophecy and in the gospels, but this god has been declared, then we ourselves might become prophets, deducing from the essence of this god his ultimate goal: the kingdom and its numinous mystery.[50]

The kingdom is an essential corollary of a saving (*heilsam*) god, of a god who determines history and a covenant, who leads to *Heil*.

So for Otto the God who pursues his covenant is also a God of salvation (*Heil*). *Heil* is not only a subjective value, something wholesome for myself --a bliss--conferring possession. Otto uses the word to designate the final religious value itself, both objective and subjective. But *Heil* is primarily something objective. It has value in itself.

Regarding the second, Otto considers this progressive self-revelation of God as the process of rationalization and moralization of the numinous. This "moralization of the idea of God" is not a suppression of the numinous or its substitution by something else. It is the completion of the numinous. "That is to say, the 'moralization' process assumes the numinous and is only completed upon this as basis."[51]

The permeation of the rational with the non-rational should never lead to a blurring or diminishing of it. The numinous elements of Christianity can never dispense with the rational.

> To get the full meaning of the word "holy" as we find it used in the New Testament, we must no longer understand by "the holy" or "sacred" the merely numinous in general, nor even the numinous at its

> own highest development; we must always understand by it the numinous completely permeated and saturated with elements signifying rationality, purpose, personality, morality.[52]

There are two processes of this development in the conception of God and these can, to some degree, be called the processes of God's self-revelation. First, there is the non-rational process which involves various gradations of "demonic dread," the level of "fear of the gods," and thence to "fear of God."[53] Otto puts this approach succinctly:

> The δαιμόνιον or daemonic power becomes the θεῖον or divine power; "dread" becomes worship; out of a confusion of inchoate emotions and bewildered palpitations of feeling grows "*religio*," and out of "*shudder*"a holy awe. The feelings of dependence upon and beatitude in the numen, from being relative, become absolute... The numen becomes God and Deity.[54]

It is to God as numen that the attribute, holy, is applied in a primary sense. This development works itself out in the sphere of the non-rational and it is the task of religious history and psychology to trace its course.

The second process of development is the process of rationalization and moralization on the basis of numinous consciousness. It keeps pace with the stages of the purely numinous development and can be traced in different gradations. The numinous attracts meaning from social and individual ideals of obligation, justice, and goodness.

> More and more these ideas come to enter into the very essence of the numen and charge the term with ethical content. "Holy" becomes "good," and "good" from that very fact in turn becomes "Holy,"sacrosanct;until there results a thenceforth indissoluble synthesis of the two elements, and the final outcome is thus the fuller, more complex sense of the "holy," in which it is at once good and sacrosanct.[55]

It is clear from what Otto says that he does not intend to restrict salvation history to the Old and New Testaments, and Church history. Nor is he primarily concerned with explicating the ontological reality of salvation history. He is trying to indicate how this reality is brought to light more and more on the phenomenological level.

But he does see history in a processional, eschatological context moving toward the fulfillment of the salvific plan of God, the Lord. The kingdom and the saving God go together. While he does not consider faith in this context, it can be inferred that it does not refer to a list of truths but to the intervention of God in history pursuing his covenant. Redemption is not an abstraction, not merely subjective, but is objective and historical.

Statement 2:

> Christ stands at the center of redemptive history. All that went before led up to him as mediator and all flows from him. Christ is the decisive intervention of God.

From what was said regarding the theological theme of the Risen Christ it seems clear that Otto is in perfect agreement with this statement. He stressed there the same points found in this statement: Christ as decisive center in salvation history, Christ as mediator between God and man, and Christ as the source of life to mankind.

And in addition, it should be noted that on the practical level Otto emphasized the centrality of Christ for the Christian. For instance, his lectionary has certain periods of the Church year focus on the life and preaching of Jesus (Christmas to Easter), the apostolic preaching and testimony (Eastertime), the Holy Spirit in the founding of the Church (Pentecost and Trinity Sunday), and the life of the first century Christian community (Trinity Sundays 2-7).

But Otto further takes up the centrality of Christ in terms of one's experience. In the chapter in The Idea of the Holy, "Divination in Christianity Today," he discusses Christ's first and direct work as the "effectual bestowal of 'salvation' as future hope and present possession by arousing a faith in his God and in the Kingdom of God."[56] In this connection he asks the question: how can we who are so remote from Christ come to experience in him "holiness made manifest"?

It cannot come through demonstration or proof. There is no conceptual criterion. It must come through contemplation in which the mind submits itself to the "impression" of the object.[57] In order to obtain this impression, everything found in the message and work of Jesus must be combined with the picture of his person and life. This must be viewed as a whole and in the contxt of the religious history of Israel and Judah which prepared for it. Account must be taken of the fulfillment elements in their contrasting context of the Judaic environment.

And so Otto thinks that men today are more fortunate than those who were contemporaneous with Jesus for today one gets a full realization of Jesus through "surmise" (Ahndung) of divine providence. This happens in the two ways just noted. First, by viewing the spiritual history of Israel as a connected whole with Christ appearing as its culmination. Second, by viewing the achievement of Christ in its entirety. In both cases a general comprehensive view is more perfectly attained today than in the time of Christ. Our historical insight is better and we can see the whole in perspective at a greater distance.

> Whoever sinks in contemplation of that great connected development of the Judaic religion which we speak of as the "Old Covenant up to Christ" must feel the stirrings of an intimation that something Eternal is there, directing and sustaining it and urging it to its consummation...And whoever then goes onto consider how greatly the scene is set

> for the completion of the whole story and the mighty stature of the personality that is its fulfillment...must conclude: "that is godlike and divine; that is verily holiness. If there is a God and if He chose to reveal Himself, He could do it no otherwise than thus."[58]

However, in order to obtain a full impression, the non-rational must also be considered. Otto refers to this full impression as "the strange feeling of the whole experience."[59] One can find this full impression in Jesus because in him especially is found the interpenetration of rational and non-rational elements. As Otto puts it

> Whoever can thus immerse himself in contemplation and and open his whole mind resolutely to a pure impression of all this combined will surely find growing in him, obedient to an inward standard that defies expression, the pure feeling of "recognition of holiness," the "intuition of the eternal in the temporal."[60]

Statement 3:

> The Old Testament assumes a role of greater importance. One does not grasp a history by studying only the event which forms its climax. The Old Testament lays down the pattern of divine intervention in history which makes the New Testament intelligible. God's revelation is progressive revelation.

From what was just said under statement two of how men today can experience Jesus, it is clear that Otto was very much in agreement with this statement. In Religious Essays his treatment of the prophet's experience of God speaks of the relationship between the testaments. For instance, in Yahweh's relationship between himself and his people as described by Isaiah, one finds suggestion of the experience of the seeking God which developes into the Pauline idea of free grace, eternal providence, and grace in its developed form which judges and forgives sin.[61]

> Jahveh has elected Israel from the beginning. He has redeemed or purchased it, acquired it for His own in the great courses of history; without any act or desert on the part of Israel. He has done this, of His free, elective, compassionate, forgiving grace.62

Thus, for Otto there is great inner unity in the biblical development. There is nothing essential in the gospels which does not have its prototype in the relationship between Yahweh and his people. This relationship is the prophetic analogy of the final revelation.

Otto's agreement with this emphasis on salvation history is also clear from the fact that he adopted Linderholm's lectionary with its greater emphasis on Old Testament readings. The Das Jahr der Kirche attempts to give a clearer relationship between the Old and New Testaments and sees the Old Testament as preparation for the gospel during the season of Advent.

Statement 4:

> We are now in the midst of redemptive history. This is the period of the Church between the historical event of Christ and the final state of glory. Christian life, initiated with baptism, is not a supra-temporal relationship with God but a taking part in an unfolding scheme of redemptive history.

Otto does not deal explicitly with this topic. Although the whole thrust of his emphasis on the liturgical year, how one must make these events present again in the liturgy indicates that men are living in redemptive history, Otto does not elaborate on this subject.

The place of the Church in Otto's thinking has already been considered. And it must be added that Otto at least implies that the Church is the place where redemption is taking place when he says that the idea of the "coming kingdom" is deeply rooted in the prophetic idea of God.

For instance, in Isaiah, Heil is the effective realization of the purpose which Yahweh has, namely, a holy community of the covenant which mirrors on earth what he is in himself: purity and holiness (Heiligkeit). And so the kingdom of God is implicit in the notion of a God who ordains his ends, who makes a covenant, who seeks a community of salvation. This community of salvation carries out his plans, disposes people after the plan of his eternal council, and seeks to establish his dominion over all flesh.

To my knowledge Otto did not write on the sacrament of baptism. But there is no reason to believe that he would have been at radical variance with what is said about this sacrament in the statement.

In sum, while there is a definite deficiency in Otto's theology on the history of salvation on this point, the thrust of his explicit treatment of the history of salvation, the Church, and the liturgy impel one to say that he was in basic agreement with the above statement.

Statement 5:

> The sense of the history of salvation looks to the past, the present, and the future. The liturgy, especially the eucharist, is permeated with this three-fold dimension. The liturgy joins the past to the present, fills the present with the life of Christ, and strengthens those who wait in hope with a glimpse of the future.

Otto says nothing on the history of salvation as something that looks to the past, present, and future. It is implied in his thought. This will become clearer in the discussion of his notion of eschatology. Nor has he treated the liturgy explicitly in terms of the meeting place of the past, present, and future, but this is certainly implied in his understanding of the Eucharist also to be treated next.

And the fact that Otto constructed a lectionary* that has the Church year begin with the creation of God and end with the end of the world indicates his desire that the past and future be united in the present liturgical celebration.

The Sacrament of the Eucharist

Statement 1:

> Sacramental activity is communal human symbolic action through which Christ continues the work of redemption and whereby the Church expresses its worship and its faith. It is a personal encounter between God and man.

Otto has not given us a sacramental theology. What he would hold in regard to the sacraments must be surmised from what he has said concerning the Eucharist. He has said nothing about baptism which would be the only other strictly sacramental activity for him. The above statement would be endorsed by Otto when speaking of eucharistic sacramental activity, but there is no way of knowing whether he would consider the same statement equally valid when applied to baptism. My opinion is that considering the thrust of his ideas concerning the liturgy and the Eucharist, Otto would have been able so to describe baptism without compromising himself since, as will be seen below, he considered "effective representation" as the basis of sacramental activity.

Statement 2:

> Christ's death dominated the Last Supper. The bread represented his body as given for us; the wine his blood as poured out for us. Christ expressed his sacrificial offering in the framework of a covenant meal which brings him to us in his act of sacrifice.

Otto has treated this statement fully. He discusses the relationship of the death of Christ to the Last Supper (1) in terms of the covenant, (2) in terms of the breaking of the bread, and (3) in terms of the real presence of his sacrifical action in a meal.

Regarding the first point, in his book, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man,[63] in the chapter on the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper, Otto maintains that the four records in their present form can only be understood when the rite is held to refer to the death of Christ in the breaking of his body and the shedding of his blood and also to refer to a covenant which was established when Christ sacrified his life. All four accounts (Matthew 26:26-9; Mark 14:22-25; Luke 22:17-20; I Corinthians 6:23-26) speak of such a covenant, a covenant connected with the blood of Christ. Yet the covenant is also connected with his body as broken in death since breaking the body and shedding the blood are but two sides of a single act, namely, that the Son of Man had come to give his life as an atonement for many.[64] As the one who is broken, Christ takes upon himself the Messianic obligation to suffer and he becomes the mediator of the διαθήκη (testament).

Otto considers the Lucan account to be the oldest of the four.[65] But he maintains that there was still an earlier pericope on the Lord's Supper which the synoptics embodied in their passion accounts.[66] The importance of this hypothesis will become clear later.

Otto is quite clear that the Eucharist is a covenant of God with his people, a covenant of brotherhood within the people themselves. He says of the Last Supper:

> Informing and underlying the celebration of this meal the redeeming and atoning sacrifice on the cross is present, a new covenant between Deity and mankind, and in it, judging and saving, sensibly near, the covenant-making, mysterious God. This is indeed a Real Presence; what other presence is like this?[67]

The second point concerns the breaking of the bread. If at the Last Supper Christ's entire being was filled with the premonition of his death to an overpowering degree, one should expect that this idea would in some analogous way make itself felt in the meal with his friends. And in what moment would this analogy be found? No doubt, says Otto, in the strongest, most highly dramatic point of the meal: the breaking of the bread.

But if the Last Supper is colored by the fact that Jesus awaited his death, a difficulty presents itself to Otto. In the past it has been taken for granted that Jesus foresaw his own death on the cross in terms of a crucifixion. If that were the case, however, then the analogy of the breaking of the bread with the death of Christ would be extraordinarily obscure. Anyone who knows anything about crucifixions finds little that is analogous between crucifixion and breaking bread. Crucifixion means hanging upon a cross, not breaking of the body. And the idea that the breaking of the bread is a kind of dying of the bread is so feeble that it could not have come from Jesus, the graphic teller of parables. But, Otto maintains, Jesus was not thinking of his crucifixion. What he had in mind was what anyone in his situation would have thought of: death by stoning.[68] He must have expected to succumb to the rage of the excited townsfolk as Stephen later did. Stephen was stoned.

Because of his blasphemy, he must have anticipated falling into the hands of the Jews, not Jews who would crucify him, but who would stone him. Death by stoning was what was on his mind. Otto asks: "Is there a deed that is more analogous to stoning on the visible level than the taking, breaking, and dismembering of the bread?" "This is my body which will be broken for you." Never has there been such a striking parable.

With these words, Jesus gave a prophecy which was not yet completely formulated. After all, he did not die by stoning but by crucifixion. But this very fact proves the authenticity of these words. Prophecy after the event would not have made such a mistake about the mode of Jesus' death.

Otto suggests that the Lukan text perhaps supports this supposition. And Jesus' method of making only one point in a parable would agree with this theory also. The connection of the stoning with the breaking of the bread is what would have been dominant in this parabolic action.

There is no mistaking Otto's clarity on this point. For ancient man, he says, the breaking of the bread did not symbolize the crucifixion anymore than it would refer to hanging today. Crucifixion breaks nothing. Nor is crucifixion a death through loss of blood. Similar to hanging, it is death through blood checking rather than bloodshed. At crucifixion there is loss of blood only when the crucified is nailed and the idea that nailing was a necessary part of crucifixion is false. The victim was usually tied to the cross. Nails were used only for the intensification of the suffering. In the passion accounts there is not a single reference to nailing. If this horrible thing had taken place, the evangelists would certainly have reported it. And even in the case of nailing the loss of blood was incidental. The swelling wounds quickly closed around the nails. In no sense was the cause of death the loss of blood. Often the crucified lingered on for three days before dying of thirst, hunger, exhaustion, and heart and brain stoppage.

But stoning is something different. Here one finds a real breaking of the body and shedding of blood. Here is where one finds the true analogy with the breaking of the bread,[69] and Paul's preaching about the blood of Christ is not so much a reference to Golgotha as it is a postulate of the idea of sacrifice from which it follows. It was probably supported by the Lord's Supper form itself.

The special category of Christ's action with the bread is twofold: (1) that of the prophetic "oth," i.e., an acted prediction and (2) that of an effective representation by an analogous δρώμενον (anticipative, representative act).[70]

When Christ began by comparing his body as broken to the broken bread, that was predictive in character since Christ's being broken was still in the future.[71] This is similar to Jeremiah (19:10) being instructed to take a jar, go outside the gate in the presence of the people of Jerusalem, break the jar before their eyes, and thereby predict their lot. Both cases are an "oth," an acted prediction by means of an analogous δρώμενον given as a sign, i.e., an act that portrays, represents, and likewise anticipates the thing predicted.[72]

Christ's action with the bread is more than an "oth." The action was not only an anticipation of something future, it also gave participation in the thing anticipated and that by effective representation. Otto says that the notion of effective representation is the basis of sacramental activity.[73] He finds this idea in the Old Testament where the altar was considered representative of the numen itself. One said altar but meant God. "The altar and what was upon it could sanctify and expiate. It could do so by effective represenatation."[74]

Thus, in Christ's action in the Eucharist one finds a case of representation by real analogy and by spontaneous attraction of the idea. This is especially obvious if Christ expected his death in the form of stoning, since the breaking of bread was factually analogous to the breaking of the body. This analogy was already available as an effective representation. Moreover, receiving food and its strength is in itself analogous to the appropriation of a power of the thing represented and so attracts the idea of effective representation.[75]

The third point takes up the real presence of Christ's sacrifice in the meal. For Otto the Lord's Supper by effective representation contains the identification of the passion and death of Christ and the breaking of the bread and the pouring of the wine.[76] This identification is achieved through the eucharistic action. Occasionally, this has been disputed because men have not wished to believe in such an institution at this time. But, says Otto, a real change in meaning took place at the Last Supper and Christ commanded that this event be repeated. This is not just a merely artistic and cultic institution without significant change. Here we have a pre-existent celebration capable of identifying the passion and the fraction, a rite that was performed in union with the followers of Christ, and a meal that has continued to be repeated. The old meaning of a meal of brotherhood continues on, but with new meaning. Otto says that this is a very natural thing. Why? Because on the occasion of Christ's separation from his followers, it is reasonable that he would institute something which would continue their true union and he would not create something _ex nihilo_ but would presuppose something like a meal of brotherhood.

What then is the Lord's Supper? Otto says it is in the first place the holy feast and brotherhood meal of the followers of Christ with their Lord and with each other. It was this even before Jesus gave it a new meaning.

Secondly, it is the identification not of two substances, but of two events. Using traditional Lutheran terminology, Otto says that with, in and under the form of a meal we have the reality of Golgotha. Through the will of Christ the meal is "transubstantiated" into Golgotha.[77] The "accidents" remain, but the "essence" is changed. The mystery of the sacrifice of Christ is made present. In this meal, the eternal God is present in his nearness. That the Eucharist is a transubstantiation of events and not of substances is Otto's first criterion for the constructing of a communion service.[78]

The place of the wine in the Eucharist for Otto will be treated more specifically in conjunction with the third statement.

Statement 3:

> The Eucharist is a communal meal of blessing and thanksgiving based on the principal Jewish table prayer. This meal is not just an act of eating; it is a communal celebration. Although in the Eucharist Christ is truly present under the forms of bread and wine, the principal reason for the Eucharist lies not in adoration of the real presence but in its function as food.

Otto pursues the same line of thought as expressed in this statement with one major disagreement regarding the real presence. He develops first the notion of the relationship of the Eucharist to the Jewish ritual meal.

Otto begins by relating a personal experience. He recalls how long ago he was with some friends in a small town, Oberfrankens, at the home of a Jew. It was Friday evening before the Sabbath. They were at table. At the end of the meal, Otto noticed that a religious ceremony was about to begin.[79] He got up to leave but his host begged him to stay.[80] The

Sabbath lamp was lit. The father took some wine out of a cupboard in the corner. He also put white bread on the table. A short prayer followed. Then he offered a blessing over the wine with the words: "Blessed are you, Lord our God, King of the Universe, who has created the fruit of the vine." Then the wine was poured into small tumblers and drunk. Then, there was a blessing over the bread with the words: "Blessed are you Lord our God, who has brought forth bread from the earth." The bread was broken, shared, and eaten. A longer prayer brought the ceremony to a conclusion:

> Praise to you, Eternal, our God, King of the Universe, who has sanctified us through your commandments, who has been well pleased with us and has granted us this holy Sabbath in your gracious love, to be an everlasting possession and a memorial of your work of creation. For it is the first of all holy festivals, a memorial of the exodus from Egypt. Yes, you have chosen us and sanctified us from all peoples, and have given us your holy Sabbath in love and grace. Praise to you, Eternal God who sanctifies the Sabbath.[81]

Otto was astounded how similar this was to the Lord's Supper. He asked his host what the ceremony was. He replied: "O, that is our custom. It is a Sabbath blessing. We always do it on the eve of the Sabbath or Passover. We call it Qiddush."

Otto observes how the concluding prayer contains a reference to the Exodus which has a striking significance for the Sabbath. Perhaps, early Sabbath consecrations and primitive Passover rites have come together in this ceremony. The bread is symbolic of manna. The Quiddush must be very old, says Otto, since Hillel and Shammai have prescribed variations in its use.

Then Otto ask: Did Jesus have a Qiddush or something similar with his disciples? Was it a meal customary at that time? Was it a ritual meal? Did he give to this meal a new meaning which was foremost for his followers? Was this basic outline later obscured because of additions? Otto says that it is usually taken for granted that on that night Jesus established a rite without precedent, a notion that is not without difficulty to accept.[82] This difficulty drops away when the rite is seen as something already in existence into which is fused a new meaning. That does not mean that one finds here something well-considered and thought out (that would bring the authenticity of the Lord's Supper into question) but rather a simple and natural occurrence.[83]

Otto maintains that Christ's last meal was not a Passover meal. He feels that this has been proved by Lietzmann in his Messe und Herrenmahl.[84] Rather, "the Last Supper belongs to some other category, viz. that of the religious festive meal, a 'cheber' or a 'chaburah' with sacramental character and with ritualistic peculiarities."[85] Such a meal is a fraternal meal of a religious and consecrated nature. Such religious brotherhood meals are found in the Sadducean and Pharisaic circles and in religious societies such as that of the Essenes.[86] They actually took on a sacramental character.[87] The brief consecratory sentences spoken over the food were in the form of thanksgiving or eucharist but were also words of consecration or blessing by which the food and drink were withdrawn from the secular realm. That corresponded in general to the idea of the "berakah."

Otto's conclusion is that the Last Supper was not a spontaneous, new creation. "As a Qiddush it was already a sacred fraternal meal, always uniting afresh those who took part in it as a community of God as the present host and master of the feast."[88] It was not an entirely exceptional action.

> In the intimate circle of the "chaberim" of a meal already of a consecrated character, he (Christ) repeated rites which had long been known and familiar at certain meals. These rites were rites of consecration and blessing.[89]

In this ceremony Christ brought to a climax his teaching that the Son of Man was Isaiah's Servant of God and he deepened the meaning of the Chabruah rite he and his disciples already possessed. Christ used certain words to explain the special meaning which he put into the rite. This meaning was carried further by the rite which continued to be practiced in the Church.

Otto says that the similiarity of the Jewish Qiddush or Chaburah meal and the Christian Eucharist comes out in the Lucan form of the eucharistic accounts (rather than the Pauline). According to Lk. 22:17-19 Christ first poured the cup and then gave out the bread. This is the same sequence as the Qiddush according to Mark. The entire proceedings closed with a doxology as does the Qiddush. Otto summarizes thus:

> We should then have as the underlying basis of the Eucharist what was primarily a sacred meal-ritual as practiced at Jewish meals and presumably also by the community of Christ and His disciples at their common meals, on lines similar to a Qiddush as observed in a pious family or in a religious group (cheber). This Jewish rite was transformed into the Christian Eucharist by the fact that on the eve of His death, Christ, possibly deliberately and of set purpose, or possibly on the sudden inspiration of the moment, invested it with a new and higher significance, which the rite had not previously possessed, and which henceforth was to make it the characteristic and distinctive rite of the new Messianic conventicle of His followers.[90]

This approach not only provides a basis for the conviction that the Eucharist was instituted by Christ, but avoids the problem for some that on such an occasion so highly charged with emotion, Jesus would have actually instituted a "rite." In this approach one is not confronted with a new "institution" but merely with the association of a new content with a familiar ceremony.[91]

As seen in connection with statement two, implied in the preceding is that the relationship between the Last Supper and the Qiddush is not one that is contrived but one that is based on the association of ideas. The foundation for the association of the Lord's Supper and the Qiddush must still be present. It must constitute what was characteristic in the meal. And *a priori* one would expect that the name of the eucharistic action would be taken from this basis for the association.

This name that the early Christians gave to this event is still retained. "They broke bread in their homes," says the Acts of the Apostles.[92] The "Breaking of the Bread" is the first technical name for the Lord's Supper. Some have thought that the breaking of the bread in the Lord's Supper account was redundant, that no special importance was attached to it. Rather, the meaning of the Eucharist was to be found in the eating. But if the meaning is to be found in the eating, then scripture should say: "They ate bread in their homes," instead of "they broke bread in their homes." One does not speak of breaking bread, if one does not mean something by it, if one is not emphasizing what was felt to be significant in the whole action.[93]

There is no question here of Otto's denying that the basis of the eucharistic action is a meal. As a matter of fact, he clearly says that it is.[94] And certain of his criteria for constructing communion services are based on the notion that the Eucharist is a meal: that the basis of the Eucharist is a meal of spiritual union, that the altar should resemble a table, that the proper time for the celebration is the evening, that candles are appropriate on a table, and that songs should convey a meditative atmosphere. Otto also adds that the method of distributing communion should emphasis the meal aspect.

Secondly, Otto discusses the Eucharist as a communal celebration. One of his criteria for the construction of a Eucharist is that the rite must be mainly congregational. He emphasizes that it is a festival of the whole community and has no meaning apart from itself. As a result of this Otto says that the Eucharist cannot become a "mass," that is, a spectacle conducted by one which others watch. If this happens, it would lose its significance as a meal, representing and forming the union of many into one. "It is essentially a congregational rite, admitting of private application only in exceptional cases."[95] It cannot be used for the application of this or that intentio.

Finally, Otto takes up the notion of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. For him the words of Christ at the Last Supper, "This is my Body," must be seen as an explanatory saying accompanying the ritualistic breaking and distribution of bread. Some, according to Otto, would say that the eating of the meal may have suggested the idea of Eucharist to Jesus, that through this eating he hit upon the idea that his followers should eat him spiritually and in eating him, be united with him symbolically and mystically. But Otto claims that this would make the purpose of the approaching passion superfluous or at least subordinate. Body should refer to the death of Christ. But what would "This is my Body" mean if it was a question of spiritual eating? One may give one's "flesh" to eat, but not one's body.

Otto rejects the idea that "body" is that by which the disciples are to become one. Rather in the mystical communion services, it is the mystical being itself in its dying and rising which is received and communicated, not its body. This idea of communion with a mystical being is highly improbable here.[96] That Jesus at this moment should have arrived at this remote meaning is difficult to understand from a psychological viewpoint. So then, why the emphasis on body by Christ?

Otto's point here[97] is that Christ did not liken himself to bread in a general way in the sense that as bread is food for the body, so he is the food for the soul. Rather he compared himself to the broken bread.

> Since he was broken in death he was like this broken bread, and, by the symbolic act of eating, the disciples were meant to participate in the fact of his being broken, in his surrender of life for the many.[98]

The words and actions of Jesus identify the breaking of the bread with his death for his own and the eating of it with participation in that death.[99]

So Christ's action with the bread was more than mere prediction; it was anticipatory prediction by representation. It was a share in the atoning power of the broken Christ. But the idea that the bread was changed into Christ's body, that his body or his flesh or he himself was eaten is completely absent from this act of sharing and participating. This is based on the Old Testament analogy already mentioned that one did not eat the altar, but the offering. Yet since the offering belonged to the altar, by virtue of effective representation one shared in the altar, that is, one shared in the sanctifying power of the altar. Otto says:

> Naturally what was eaten was even now only bread and not the body of Christ, just as in the preceding example the altar itself was not eaten. But by virtue of effective representation, the one who ate the bread obtained fellowship with the represented body, and this again not in the sense that he now possessed this body or part of it, but again as with the altar, viz. he partook of the sanctifying power of this broken body.[100]

Otto goes so far as to claim that nowhere in the synoptic gospels or St. Paul is there a basis that Christ intended to give himself, realistically or spiritually, as a "food" for us. He is of the conviction that an examination of the original pericope referring to the Eucharist as the breaking of the bread means that the words of institution do not mean food for the soul but the last will and testament of one who is about to die. Nor does Christ qualify his disciples to receive his testament by feeding their souls, but by taking them from the secular sphere and consecrating them by his death for the kingdom of God.

Although St. Paul's conception of the Supper may have been influenced by Hellenistic tendencies, even in I Corinthians 10:16 it is not the body and blood which are eaten but the bread and wine which establishes communion with Christ. Body here means not the "eucharistic" body but the mystical body of Christ, the Church.[101]

> Thus we are many, but one body clearly means not the body of the cross but the mystical body of Christ with which we can have a communion, but which can in no case be eaten or spiritually assimilated or be present in bread and wine.[102]

Under the influence of later ideas, this primary significance paled and receded into the background. Otto refers to John 6:53ff,[103a] as the primary example of how the early Christology of the Son of Man as identical with the suffering servant of Isaiah was displaced by the Christology of the Son of Man who was the Logos. The latter Christology obscured any connection of the Eucharist with the death of Christ.

So, Otto's position is that the body and blood of Christ are not to be identified with his "flesh," but with his sacrifice for others. There is real presence of Christ in the Eucharist but it is not the presence of divine materials but "by virtue of the blessing words of Christ, what is present is the most numinous fact in the world's history, the fact of Golgotha."[103b]

Thus, while Otto agrees with the substance of statement three, he dissociates himself from any idea of real presence in terms of substantial change of elements. Again, it is his notion that in the Eucharist there is a transubstantiation of events, not of substances.

Statement 4:

> The Eucharist is the event by which the Church is given existence and permanence in different times and places. The Eucharist alone gives full union with Christ and the Church. The effect intended is life as a community in Christ.

There are elements in Otto's thought that would indicate that he was in agreement with this statement. But practically speaking, the import of this statement was not emphasized by him. It is true that two of his criteria for constructing communion services: that every celebration must be one of the universal Church represented by parts of it, and that the Eucharist should not resemble the ordinary service in the sense that only fully committed members should participate, would seem to be in explicit agreement with the statement.[104a]

But as has been previously noted, Otto did not place the Eucharist at the center of the Church's life, the main Sunday Service. He made silence the usual sacrament rather than the Eucharist.[104b] Does this mean that Otto considered the Eucharist secondary? How can one reconcile this with the fact that like Friedrich Heiler, he deplored the fact that the Eucharist had become a subordinate part of Protestant worship?

In Luther's time the Supper remained a regular part of the Sunday Service, but in time this changed. The whole congregation no longer communicated every Sunday. The Supper became a mere appendix to the service. In Otto's time, Protestant worship still suffered from this fragmentation. But Otto thought that it would be contrary to Protestant principles to try to revive the practice of a Sunday Eucharist. He felt that such a practice would estrange many people from worship and would fall into the distortions of the old Roman Catholic mass. Not all would take part and it would become a spectacle. For this reason he wanted the Supper severed from all other services. It must be an independent celebration with its own distinctive form. It must be a celebration of all present. It should be celebrated in the evening as was the practice in the early Church. It should be held on certain special occasions of the Church year, perhaps on the first Sunday of every other month.

In my judgment, Otto did not recommend the restoration of the Eucharist to the regular Sunday Service mainly for pastoral reasons. Both his approach to eucharistic practice and the placing of the silent service (surrounded by elements from the eucharistic liturgy) at the heart of his services is due more to the influence of his understanding of religious experience of the time than to any theological presuppositions.

Statement 5:

The Eucharist has an eschatological meaning. It is a pledge of the glory to come and we anticipate the Messianic banquet by celebrating the sacred meal of the Eucharist.

There is no question that Otto firmly maintained the eschatological aspect of the Eucharist. In fact, it could be that his major emphasis in regard to the Last Supper and the Eucharist in the Church is the eschatological. One of the criteria for constructing a communion service that Otto puts forth is that it must have a basic eschatological thrust. This is not surprising considering the heavy eschatological coloring of his entire theology.

As noted earlier, Otto believes that there is a primitive account of the Eucharist older than the present four accounts. He maintains that although the three non-Markan accounts have all the essential elements of the primitive account, there is an element in which they are poorer, namely, the eschatological dimension of Christ's act in distributing the bread. Otto says that the eschatological aspect of the primitive account becomes clear upon an examination of the three elements which constitute the basis of the primitive account.

The first element is the introductory ritualistic blessing and distribution of the cup. According to Otto, an examination of the primitive pericope shows that the words about the cup do not refer to blood or to a covenant.[105] Rather they are words of farewell and a prediction of fellowship to be renewed in the future.

> The very distribution of the cup of blessing, with its prospect of the meal in the kingdom of God, was surely intended to give to those who drank an effective guarantee of participation in the future meal and of reunion with the departing master.[106]

But this emphasis did not endure for long. Whereas in the Christian communities in which the Jewish elements predominated, the Qiddush character maintained itself, as illustrated in the Didache, in the more Hellenistic communities this original meaning naturally became obscured with new interpretations. Otto supposes that the purely eschatological meaning of the blessing of the cup would recede into the background and the significance of the cup would be assimilated to that of the breaking of the bread. The cup would be identified with the blood as the bread with the broken body.[107] The pouring of the cup is relegated to the second place since it derives its meaning from the breaking of the bread.[108]

The second element is: the ritualistic breaking and distribution of the bread accompanied by the words: "This is my body." It has already been stated how this was understood as an act of anticipation of something future, that it was not *mere* prediction. It was *anticipatory* prediction of something future by effective representation. Thus, the words and action are plainly eschatological.

The third element is: the immediate connection and logical union of the saying: "This is my body," with the διαθήκη or the covenant promise of the kingdom of God.[109] The words, "This is my body," refer to the death of Christ. His death in turn is the basis for his inheriting the kingdom. Christ's death or covenantal action is strictly eschatological. As mediator of the covenant he bequeathed his own inheritance of the kingdom to his disciples after he consecrated them to receive it by giving them a share in the power of his suffering as a Servant of God.[110]

The Qiddush was already a sacred meal, but Christ's words of blessing gave it a higher meaning. Through the prophetic reference to the eschatological meal, it became a pledge and anticipation of the eternal communion in the kingdom of heaven.[111]

Because of the Eucharist's eschatological significance, it is the appropriate occasion for celebrating unity with those members of the congregation who have passed away. Since the Supper is a covenant-meal representing the covenant of God with his people, it is also the covenant of brotherhood of that people within itself. This covenant unites both the living and the dead. Those who have lost their dear relatives should especially come to the Lord's Supper Service to show their unity with those who have gone before.

Otto is of the opinion that the eschatological reference to inheriting the kingdom in Christ's action was altered in later developments as the ancient rite continued in the Church. And practice today points to forgiveness of sin as the essential meaning of the rite (Otto is speaking of his Lutheran tradition). Otto does not deny that forgiveness of sin is implicit in the Eucharist but he feels that the means is unduly emphasized to the detriment of the purpose. Forgiveness and expiation are but means to the eschatological final goal.[112] They are means whereby sinners may enter God's kingdom.[113]

Statement 6:

> There is only one priesthood, that of Christ. Since the Church is the body of Christ, all the members share in his priesthood which is given at baptism.

Otto would be in agreement with this statement on the general priesthood. But while he sees the Church as the body of Christ, he would not go beyond St. Paul and opt for the language or the doctrinal refinements of the notion of the mystical body of Christ such as put forth by some Roman Catholic theologians in the middle of the twentieth century.[114]

Otto's theology of the priesthood is reflected in the example he uses to emphasize congregational participation in the Lord's Supper.

He describes how in Silesia at the services of communion for the sick, as the words of institution are pronounced, all those standing around including the sick person pronounce them together. He considers this a particularly Protestant expression of religious feeling. He wishes this practice to be done in his experimental liturgies. After all, he says, the words are not a magic consecration formula belonging only to the priest. Through them are fulfilled the words of the Lord: "Do this in my memory." They are the act of anamnesis. The preacher is but the one who leads the congregation in this act of remembering. The minister can even remain silent if the congregation can say them themselves. In any case, the minister only speaks them as one among equals.

Otto suggests further that by the time of their confirmation, children learn how to say the words of institution together. Once they learn how to profess these words in the proper way, they need no further dogmatic commitment to qualify for confirmation.

Otto stresses that the true body and blood of Christ is not some merely heavenly material, but is a true offering of his life and death on Golgotha. It is not a work of priesthood but something brought about by the institution of Christ when the community celebrates his meal. Thus, says Otto, the "consecrating" signs of the cross over the bread and wine are not in the Protestant tradition. Rather, here the simple actions of breaking the bread and taking the chalice are enough. They are sufficient for the recall.

Communal congregational praying, especially of the Lord's Prayer, is also a sign of the common priesthood of all. Otto warned against substituting the priest for the preacher and played down the role of the prayer-leader to the point of making it almost non-essential. In my opinion, while Otto's emphasis on the general priesthood of all is commendable, his approach is exaggerated to the degree that it is detrimental to the special ministry.

Eschatology

Statement 1:

> Human history is moving towards a final end in which the saving plan of God will reach its full accomplishment. The final order of things now exists only in a hidden and incomplete way.

Otto's basic concept of eschatology which is the same as expressed in the statement above was begun in his fight against a certain understanding of evolution. This concept of evolution that Otto fought in Naturalism and Religion and The Idea of the Holy was a form of evolution without emergence in the sense of real novelty and creativity. In other words, Otto was opposed to strict Darwinism. For instance, in Naturalism and Religion, he says:

> Religion itself consists in this: believing and experiencing in time the Eternal, in the finite the Infinite, in the world God is working, revealing Himself, and that in Him lies the reason and cause of all being.
>
> The divine causality co-operating and influencing the system of cause and effects, ordering them with gentle and delicate pressure, and guiding them towards their true end...gives rise to all phenomenon...and is what is meant by providence and natural revelation.[115]

Otto did not consider his understanding of eschatology as merely recoining a phrase or a continuation of the notion of immanence or progress. It is a presence or power or phenomenon that has the dimension of depth, novelty and spontaneity. Divine causality working in the world is both creative and preservative and the creative does not nullify the preservative. It rises in moments of enthusiasm and reverence and so is revelatory.

The structure as a whole is continuous although our experiences of it are varied and disconnected as the presence of the Holy breaking into our common experience.[116]

Eschatology is Otto's way of speaking about the present time in the context of its ultimate concern with extraordinary events and occurrences, but everything, even the most trivial, must be regarded as part of the divine ordering. It seems that here Otto is utilizing the notion of emergent eschatology. C. Lloyd Morgan says of Otto:

> The common ground between us is precisely at the point of our urging that what in the naturalistic regard is epigenetic emergence is from first to last the temporal unfolding of Divine Purpose in the becoming of the world.[117]

Otto, himself, uses the term, "emergence," in both Naturalism and Religion and The Idea of the Holy. He also employs such words as: impulse, entelechy, spirit, life-force, the spontaneously new and different, intelligent creative purpose, inexhaustible variability, God establishing the world becoming, and eternal reality breaking through the veil of temporal existence.

Otto appreciated the efforts of C. Lloyd Morgan to overcome mechanistic materialism by seeing in the depth of nature an intelligent creative purpose delicately ordering the world. And Morgan reciprocated by saying that what he calls evolutionary or emergent refers to the super-status of the Holy and calls Otto as a witness to its presence at the "numinous stage of human development."[118]

Otto considered the feeling behind eschatology to be one of the fundamental experiences of religion. "It is the acknowledgement of the holy, of a divine environment, close to us, unspeakably close, immanent, intruding into the everyday world.[119] God is present and working in the experienced world, not divorced from it. Eschatology does not mean a pause in God's working or a hidden God that will once more appear. It means a living God working within the process of history and humanity. "The divine life is implanted in everything that lives,...implanted as becoming."[120]

Otto conceived of eschatology as an appropriate means of portraying the necessity of historical process getting its direction from the ultimate values of God which are immanently present with man, values which are more than they can assimilate as individuals. In other words, individuated events can only have their real meaning and being in relatedness. Relationships provide a dimension of meaning and possibility of novelty which go beyond the reality of the parts taken as isolated data.[121]

And so Otto understands the kingdom of God as an emerging energy, that which is eternal is at the same time present in that which is temporal. The mystery of the kingdom does not force itself into nature as miraculous but as fundamentally implicit in it.[122] Otto saw the necessity of the concomitance of the transcendent and immanent. The immediate, emergent aspect cannot be rationalized away else eschatological order will have no reference to the sphere of time.

The Kingdom of God is a realm of energy, a power awaiting our response and appropriation. It comes into life and history as a creation which providentially orders the world of becoming. It is an intelligent creative purpose permeating and shaping all that is human, pervading all phenomenal and historical relations.[123]

Otto examines the relationship between the Old and New Testaments to demonstrate his understanding of eschatology. It has been previously noted that Otto maintains that the inner unity of biblical development is clear from the fact that there is no essential trait in the gospels which does not have its prototype in the relationship between Yahweh and his people. This applies especially to the central idea of the gospels: the kingdom of heaven, what Otto calls

> that overwhelming Heil toward which all the ways of God with mankind are directed, the realization of final salvation at the ultimate end of time, for which we as Christians hope; for the effectual realization of the dominion of Jahweh is the very essence of the idea of the covenant itself."[124]

Already in Isaiah such final realization had traits of an "eschatology." Otto finds the origin of this eschatology in Yahweh as ruach and wonder, in the notion that the people and the world of Yahweh will partake of the wonderful when the rule of Yahweh is realized. The final goal of Yahweh's ways with his people is a state of wonder. The joyous tidings of the coming kingdom are implicit in the prophetic idea of God and in the nature of the God of Isaiah who ordains his ends, makes his covenant and seeks a community of salvation, disposes peoples and destinies after the plan of his eternal council, and seeks to establish his dominion over all flesh.[125] He is the will to Heil while at the same time he is numen, pneuma and ruach. An essential part of God's nature is the eschatological kingdom as the final achievement of Heil which is more of the nature of ruach (spirit) than basar (flesh).

Turning to the New Testament, Otto concludes that in the gospel of Jesus one sees the consummation of the process of rationalization of the idea of God, the process which brought the numinous to fulfillment by finding in it "attributes of clear and profound value for the reason."[126] The result is Christianity's conception of the "Fatherhood" of God.

But Otto says that it is a mistake to think that such a rationalization means that the numinous is excluded. This error is only possible if one disregards the fact that the message of Christ is the "gospel of the kingdom." This kingdom is

> just, greatness and marvel absolute, the "wholly other" "heavenly thing, set in contrast to the world of here and now, "the mysterious" itself in its dual character as awe-compelling yet all-attracting, glimmering in an atmosphere of genuine "religious awe." [127]

It gives color and tone to everything connected with it, upon the men who proclaim or prepare for it, upon the tidings of it and upon the congregation of those who await and attain it. Everything is made into a mystery--that is, becomes numinous.[128]

As noted in regard to the Old Testament, this kingdom of God which is the Heil brings salvation. Speaking of salvation Otto says that

> it is manifested quite unmistakably and in supreme fashion, both in intensity and intrinsic purity, in the "Kingdom of Heaven" of Christianity, which is at once a tenet of faith, an object of desire, and a present experience.[129]

Redemption is the emphasis of the gospel even in its first and simplest form, a redemption which is fulfilled by God hereafter and so comes as the assured promise of the kingdom of God and yet is at the same time already experienced here and now by the present experience of the Fatherhood of God.

Otto says that if there had been no eschatological kingdom declared in the beginning and promised in prophecy and the gospels, one would deduce it from the essence of God.

> It is an essential corollary of a saving (heilsam) god, of a god who determines history and the ways of humanity, who plans to the achievement of his "honour," who determines a covenant, who leads to Heil, while at the same time he is the wholly wondrous el and ruach and pneuma.[130]

As regards Otto's agreement with the last part of this first statement, that the end time exists now in a hidden way, the following quotation adequately points to his position.[131] It deals with Otto's understanding of the early Christian community's experience of the kingdom.

> The kingdom of God is, on the one hand, the wholly transcendent, primarily future thing to which the community of the new covenant looked forward in hopeful expectation. But, on the other side, even in the gospels we read, "the kingdom of God is among you." In other words, the transcendent kingdom is already throwing its mysterious shadows ahead; it is there working secretly and quietly as a secret power in the germinating faith of the first community; it renews and transforms, and gives "peace and joy in the Holy Spirit."[132]

Statement 2:

> The Death and Resurrection of Christ introduce the final order of things into human history. The triumph of Christ is that all that is good and valuable in creation will be taken up. The Resurrection of Christ is the cause and model of man's resurrection.

It is difficult to know to what degree Otto would be in accord with this statement. He has treated the relationship of Christ and the Kingdom of God at some length. But he never explicitly says that it is introduced by the death and resurrection. As noted in statement four of the section: The Risen Christ, he does not deny it either. He does not speak of Christ's resurrection as the model of man's resurrection. Nor is the triumph of Christ seen in terms of the salvation of all that is good. But I think the basic underlying reality of the statement, that Jesus Christ is essential to and part of the eschatological order and that all things find fulfillment in him is found implicitly in Otto's treatment of the relationship of Christ and the kingdom. His understanding of this relationship grows as one passes from his earlier works to his later ones.

In his Life and Ministry of Jesus Otto notes that with Jesus the customary meaning of the kingdom of God as something exclusively temporal and materialistic was changing. In Jesus it is no longer designated as an inheritance yet to come but is an internal condition, something already possessed, the rule of God already active, a community of equals, redeemed and God-serving, already present.[133] An examination of the kingdom of God parables leads Otto to believe that the message refers to present salvation, the salvation of divine sonship.[134] This, however, is not to be construed as an excuse to escape from the world, or for indifference to national, political and social tasks.

In The Idea of the Holy, in his discussion of divination in primitive Christianity, Otto does not think that one can arrive at any real knowledge of Jesus' consciousness of himself. The evidence is neither sufficient nor appropriate to such a purpose. Besides, for Otto the content of Jesus' message is not himself but the kingdom, its beatitude and its righteousness.[135]

If one tries to determine as concisely as possible what was characteristic of the message of Jesus, one is left with two central elements: (1) the proclamation of the kingdom of God as the foundation of the whole gospel. This is characteristic of Jesus' whole ministry; and (2) the reaction against Pharisaism and Jesus' ideal of godliness as the attitude and mind of a child. These points comprise in principle everything that later was treated separately as grace, election, and renewal by the Holy Spirit.

Speaking of the first element in Jesus' message Otto says:

> And so Christ's first and direct work and achievement, as we can clearly understand it today, is the effectual bestowal of 'salvation' as future hope and present possession by arousing a faith in his God and in the kingdom of God.[136]

Otto, in his book, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, sets forth the view of eschatology as the kingdom of God as a mystery immediately present with us. This notion had already begun in early Iranian and late Jewish religion and is found in the book of Enoch, the gospels, and in Jesus himself. Otto feels that the real value of Jesus' position is the fact that he combined two eschatologies of different origin: an earthly/corporeal with a heavenly/spiritual one. The first was that of the Son of Man from Enoch and the second was that of the Servant of God from Isaiah. The only consistent eschatology is one which contains both elements indissolubly connected. Otto firmly believed that this was best done by conjoining emergence and eschatology--the immediate and ultimate aspects of reality.[137]

In his chapter, "Characteristics of Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom," Otto says that the main feature of this kingdom was that it was coming. Jesus did not teach anything special about its content because he was not an apocalyptist and gave no new disclosures about a supra-mundane world. However, Christ's eschatological expressions do refer to the content and conditions of a world which is wholly other than anything humanly conceivable. The coming kingdom is not merely a correction of previous existence, but is the end of all previous and present forms. This is because the holy is an utterly transcendent value and requires for its realization a transcendent existence. "One can only be holy in heaven."[138]

The kingdom of God is

> purely a coming and future reality, and precisely as such on the point of breaking in, indeed, already in the process of breaking in; mysterious, imperceptible, but visible to 'blessed' eyes; an operative and penetrating power.[139]

Otto concludes that it was Christ's claim that the kingdom which would spell the end for every world empire, even the Roman Empire, had come, was already actually breaking in, that led him to be crucified by the Roman magistrates. Pilate might regard as a fool an itinerant rabbi who came claiming immediate decisions, but he would not nail him to the cross.[140]

In the same work Otto also says that Jesus' message differed from John the Baptist's in two areas: (1) John proclaimed the menacing Day of Yahweh; Jesus preached the kingdom of God as something new and different; and (2) John proclaimed the magical power of an eschatological sacrament of water; Jesus proclaimed the spiritual power of the eschatological order as manifested in the "day is at hand" of the kingdom.[141]

Otto's eschatology in this book is tied to his idea of Christ as a charismatic person. His charismatic gift was not accidental to him; it was of the essence of his person and only when one understands his person in terms of this charisma, does one understand the meaning of his message of the kingdom. Kingdom for Christ meant the inbreaking power of God into salvation. He was not a rabbi, but an eschatological redeemer who was an integral part of the eschatological order itself.[142] Charisma and kingdom belong together because they illuminate one another.

Otto's understanding of the relationship of Christ and the kingdom has not been without its critics. A representative example is found in J. G. Davies' book, The Secular Use of Church Buildings, where he discusses

Otto's theology of the kingdom of God. He makes the following observations:[143]

(1) Although the synoptic gospels speak of the kingdom in terms of divine initiative, it is not separated from human actions since Jesus of Nazareth is the agent of the kingdom. To say that the kingdom is "wholly other" is to question the humanity of Christ.

(2) The kingdom is the sovereign power of God (holy) manifestly effective in the world of human experience (numinous). But it is only a revelation of the Wholly Other if the holy is the same as the numinous. Then the kingdom is a wholly other reality because it is an effective manifestation of the holy God. But Davies does not think that the holy is the numinous and accuses Otto of reading this into the New Testament material.

(3) The synoptic gospels present the kingdom as something that men are to enter into; they are to accept it with joy. There is no suggestion that they are to abase themselves before it in dread and awe.

Thus, while it is clear that Otto develops at some length the relationship of Christ and the Kingdom, he says little about the place of the resurrection of Christ itself. This was also noted previously in the section dealing with the Risen Christ. Otto did say that the death of Christ was the basis for his inheriting the kingdom (cf. the section on the Eucharist) and that is probably the most explicit he becomes in regard to statement two.

Statement 3:

Since Christians live in the last days, their lives

> should include an eschatological tension. Christian life is life on the level of the Risen Christ and the fullness of individual salvation is given to all as a community and at the moment which marks the final achievement of God's plan for the universe.

Otto deals explicitly with the notion that Christians live in the end time and with the eschatological tension that results from this living in his discussion of what he calls the inconsistent eschatology of Christ. Although at times Christ speaks as if the kingdom is quite near, is actually present, his preaching did presuppose life, time, and duration. He did not act as if the inbreaking end time was so near that there was only time for a quick conversion. It presupposed a variety of enduring and changing circumstances of life: watchfulness against temptation, trustful confidence in the Father, abandonment of anxiety, indifference toward the world, a childlike disposition, and faithfulness in service of God.

> Thus we encounter a peculiar double-sidedness, which must appear paradoxical. On the one hand the liveliest feeling of the immediate inbreaking of the supramundane future; on the other hand a message which is completely undisturbed by the former fact in its relation to time, the world, and life, which reckons on duration, on continuance in time and in temporal and world affairs, and is related thereto.[144]

This paradox is what Otto calls the irrationality of the typically eschatological attitude. This irrationality or inconsistency is of its essence.

Otto asks what Jesus meant when he said: "the kingdom of God is in the midst of you," when speaking to his opponents in the Beelzebub incident? Jesus said this to shatter the dogmatism of a finished eschatology and to burst its narrow limits.

One finds a definite polarization in Christ's eschatology. The first pole refers to the future kingdom: watchfulness and attention, looking for the indications. The second pole is that the kingdom is already present and working. Jesus did not reconcile these two poles. It might appear, however, that Otto himself thought that Christ opted for one of the poles, that Christ rejected an immanent kingdom. He says:

> For him (Christ) the kingdom was already purely and wholly transcendent, and only fully so when it descended with its δύναμις, broke into the world sphere, and thus was 'in the midst of you.'[145]

But although Otto spoke of the kingdom as transcendent, he rejected the notion that the eschatological order is outside of time. For him, Christ's understanding of the kingdom was not wholly transcendent in that sense.

For Otto the salvation of eschatological reality shall dawn even now; the Son of Man is active and operative even now. He comes with his Father in anticipatory working in order to enter into fellowship with the children of truth. He is hidden from sinners, but is revealed to the elect.[146]

The concept of the eschatological order working now in time does not merely mean being placed in a situation which calls for decision.[147] In his book, India's Religion of Grace and Christianity, in his discussion of Christianity and the Bhakti religion, Otto objects to the idea that the Lord's Prayer is a kind of universal prayer which all religious people can express as common to them all. Otto shows how it cannot simply be transferred into the religion of India. This is especially true of the second petition, "Thy kingdom come," when taken in its original biblical sense. This petition is the gist of the whole prayer according to Otto. He rejects the idea that this petition means only a demand on the individual for a decision. Such thinking would not be alien to all Indian thinking since there the life of everyone is subject to the demand to decide for the Lord in preference to the life of the world. But Otto says:

> The kingdom of God in the prophets and the gospel means something much more and much greater than a mere demand for a decision by the individual in view of an eventual judgment.[148]

Otto's view is that because the eschatological order may come at any moment, it arouses men. It does not claim a decision; it calls to repentance. It is not merely an allegory for a radical claim, but the real goal which is to come to man.[149] For Otto the demand to be holy does not come from eschatology but from the absolute holiness of God.

> For it is not my existence which Christ's call to repentance places in question but my righteousness before God; and it is not assurance of my existence which his message places in prospect but salvation.[150]

Thus, the coming of the kingdom awakens man to his coming salvation and this is what introduces the tension in Christian living. This is what it means to live in the end time.

That the Christian life is basically an eschatological life is demonstrated concretely by Otto's choice of Linderholm's lectionary where the kingdom of God is the dominant theme. And even more clearly is this seen in what must be the nearest that Otto comes to a definition of the liturgy. In Chapter One it was pointed out that the kingdom of God, its superabundant reality, its coming to fulfillment in time, its mysterious contemporary presence in Word and assembly, its being in the community of mankind and the person of the individual, its temporal and eternal perfection is the reality present in Christian liturgy.[151]

Otto has developed little about Christian life and the life of the Risen Christ. This has already been noted. (Cf. the section on the Risen Christ.) But he does make a brief reference to the idea that salvation is given to men as a community at the moment of final achievement of God's plan in India's Religion of Grace and Christianity when he says that Israel's prophets were not primarily interested in the rescue of the individual. The central point of their teaching is that Yahweh's kingdom will be what it should be at the appointed time, despite the disobedience on the part of his people. And the young Christian community also knew that God's kingdom would come. The expectation of the advent of the final breaking forth of the "Wholly Other" is the soul of the Christian religion. No matter what changes take place in the piety of Israel or the gospels, even in its becoming more individual and subjective, this idea is maintained.[152] What is primary is the objective eschatological value that Yahweh's reign is coming and that the "end of all things" in time and eternity will be the realized "kingdom of God."[153]

Statement 4:

> The Second Coming of Christ will bring history to completion, show forth its meaning, reveal that which is hidden. All shall rise from the dead although the Second Coming is not just an affair of individual salvation since it includes the whole of creation and human history, all that is good.

What Otto has to say about the relationship of the kingdom of God and history would seem to support, albeit indirectly, the notion in this statement that the final end time with the coming of Christ, will give fulfillment and meaning to history. He holds that Jesus' idea of the kingdom was that it was not something to be realized by the political power of man but by the effectual working of God within history. Eschatology became the most formidable sign of God's immediacy. The kingdom of God is not a state or place but a spiritual power.

> It is the kingdom of God as an eschatological sphere of salvation, which breaks in, makes a small, unpretentious beginning, miraculously swells, and increases; as a divine "field of energy" it extends and expands forever.[154]

Connected with this idea that the kingdom is the inbreaking of a supernatural operative power is that the relation between kingdom and power includes Christ's healing and exorcizing work. It also includes his message for that is also power. It includes his person for it is that part of the kingdom which is already in the process of dawning.

Otto sums up on this point:

> The "coming" kingdom of God is first and chiefly that which the name indicates, the mysterious fulfillment and the goal which God has chosen, viz. the last and final establishment of the "mal'kut Jahweh" over everything and all things and over the world itself. It is the realization of his reign, which he will bring in at a time which he alone knows, when the world will be in truth the kingdom "of God and of his Christ."[155]

Although, as seen from statement four of the section on the Risen Christ, Otto does not treat the question of rising from the dead at any length, he does speak about a new existence for man with the coming of Christ. He does this expressly first in what he considers the first element of a genuine eschatology: the idea of a new creation, i.e. the kingdom of heaven as a new and different and therefore no longer earthly reality.[156] And he refers to it even more explicitly when he discusses the several connotations of the expression: the kingdom of God.

This expression refers to:

(1) the idea of the divine realm, of a world which is in heaven. One can inherit it as one can inherit land. It is the transcendental form of the promised land.

(2) this realm as the Son of Man and his throne, the Holy Spirit, the angels of God, and the persons of old who have been exalted to the presence of God.

(3) the idea of the new ideal for the existence of men. The preaching of the kingdom is the preaching of righteousness. This preaching is not for a just now incidental decision, but to a fundamental radical conversion in repentence. There is a new righteousness available for man. Because of the connotation of the Wholly Other the modern idea of crisis does not belong to it.[157]

(4) a supernatural breaking off of the entire world process. As the end of world history, the kingdom is accompanied by the final judgment. But judgment here has a positive meaning. As Otto says:

> Hence, in addition to the idea of the absolute ideal in a new righteousness, the terms "kingdom" and "coming of the kingdom" imply the ideas of an absolute domain of salvation, indefinable and undefined as are all domains of salvation. Its highest content is that he who is pure in heart will see God and what that signifies is again not defined. Enough to know it as the only treasure and the costly pearl.[158]

From what was said in connection with statement three it is obvious that Otto did not regard salvation at the end time (resurrection from the dead) as an individual affair. It was communitarian. And statement four's explicitation by Otto indicates that salvation, considered eschatologically, includes all of creation, all that is good.

Summary Outline

Without trying to recapitulate all the main points and evaluations of this chapter, the following statements attempt to give in outline form the theological basis of Rudolf Otto's liturgical theology.

I

The notions of the Risen Christ, the History of Salvation, the Church and the Eucharist are heavily colored by the concept of eschatology.

II

Eschatology is emergent: God is working in history in a process of becoming. The eternal is present in the temporal. This intelligent creative and preservative force permeating all history is the kingdom of God.

III

The kingdom of God is redemption both hidden and presently revealed. It is both a present experience and an object of hope. It is the eschatological sphere of salvation, a new available righteousness, not a mere call for decision.

IV

The kingdom of God means a new and wholly transcendent existence for man, life with God, an absolute domain of salvation which gives meaning to all of history.

V

The history of salvation does not restrict God's self-revelation in history to the limits of the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

VI

Jesus is central to the history of salvation. The Old Testament is the time of preparation. Christ is the mediator of salvation and the definitive intervention of God. He is part of the eschatological order itself. This order includes both his message and his person.

VII

Christology is dominated by eschatology. Christ is subordinated to the concept of the kingdom. He does not bring it about; he inherits it. Christ does not achieve the victory so much as it is achieved in him.

VIII

Christ inherits the kingdom through his death and exaltation which are central in the economy of salvation. While theoretically the exaltation ranks with the cross in importance, in practice Good Friday is more climactic than Easter.

IX

The definite relationship between Christ and the Church is founded on the fact that Christ is the mediator of the action whereby a covenant is established by the formation of a sacred community. The Church is the body of Christ in the Pauline sense.

X

The Church should be a brotherhood whose mission and task is outward directed. The Church in the concrete is a liturgical event and liturgical prayer is communitarian and ecclesial.

XI

The Church is an eschatological community. Christian life is characterized by an eschatological tension. The liturgy is predominantly eschatological. It is the focus of the past, present, and future.

XII

The liturgy is Word and sacrament. The Word is indispensable. The work of Christ is present sacramentally in the liturgy through effective representation.

XIII

The relationship of the Last Supper, the cross, and the Eucharist is in terms of a covenant of God with his people and of brotherhood among the people themselves.

XIV

Christ's sacrificial action is present in the Eucharist because he gave a new meaning to an already existing Jewish ritual meal, the Chaburah: the identification of the breaking of the bread and the pouring of the wine with the passion and death of Christ. The sacrifice of Christ is present through the transubstantiation of events.

XV

The main idea connecting the Last Supper and the Jewish Qiddush is not the eating but the breaking of the bread. The breaking of the bread (which for Christ was predictive of stoning, not of crucifixion) is an act of effective representation.

XVI

The bread is not changed into the body of Christ. One does not eat the body of Christ in communion in some spiritual or realistic way. In eating the broken bread one shares in the atoning power of the broken Christ. Real presence consists not in the presence of the flesh of Christ, but in the presence of the sacrifice, the fact of Golgotha.

XVII

Although the Eucharist, a communal congregational service, is the expression of the Church's worship and faith and is a personal encounter between God and man as well as the event which concretizes the universal Church in the local Church, for pastoral reasons it is not to be the regular Sunday service. It should be an independent and less frequent celebration with all communicating as a sign of full commitment.

XVIII

The Eucharist is predominantly eschatological as is clear from the original meaning of the words about the cup as a prediction of fellowship in the future, the anticipation of the death of Christ by effective representation of the words: "This is my body," and the connection between these words and the eschatological meal and communion with Christ in the kingdom of God. Because the Eucharist is eschatological, it is the fitting place to celebrate one's unity with those who are dead.

XIX

All participate in the one priesthood of Christ. Practically, this means communal praying of the words of institution, the Lord's Prayer, and antiphonal prayer in the eucharistic liturgy.

XX

Men will be saved as a community at the end time. But bodily resurrection means totally new life, not corporeal revivification. In this sense Christ's resurrection is the model for man's resurrection.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Three

1. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

4. P. 170. Galaxy paperback.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

6. It is well to keep in mind that it was Good Friday and not Easter that was the climactic day of the whole liturgical year for Otto.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

9. *Loc. cit.*

10. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

11. *Loc. cit.*

12. P. 237.

13. *Loc. cit.*

14. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 292.

17. Appendix 12 of the Galaxy paperback.

18. *The Idea of the Holy*, p. 222.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

20. Here Otto is using Spirit in the explicitly Christian sense. However, in his earlier works, especially *Naturalism and Religion*, he asserts that the spirit is autonomous, that the laws of the spirit are different from those of the natural world, that they are the laws of ethics and logic rather than the physical sciences, that the spirit is free, the source of concepts, intuitions, and valuations which cannot be derived from sense experience. In other words, the spirit cannot be explained on the basis of sense experience alone. This seems to be a purely philosophical consideration.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

22. *Loc. cit.*

23. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

24. Otto hints at what he thinks the post-resurrection appearances were like. In the context of the discussion of Christ's charismatic apparitions, Otto says that in the case of the disciples caught in the storm what happened was that, stirred by the storm, Christ's solicitous thoughts are projected to the disciples. Christ now *sees* the disciples in their straits. His will to help them extends out to them. This psychic disposition prepares the way for the irrational charismatic contact of his soul with with theirs. This is a comforting experience of nearness and presence. The psychic tensions of the disciples impelled them to seek their master and helper in time of distress. Otto asks: "May we suppose that the apparitions of the Risen Lord are also to be interpreted in this way -- as real self-attestations, which became visual appearances to those who received them?" P. 374 of *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man*.

25. *The Idea of the Holy*, p. 226.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

27. For an explicit treatment of the Holy Spirit by Otto see *Die Anschauung vom Heiligen Geiste bei Luther* (Goettingen: Vandenhoech and Ruprecht, 1898). See also Schütte's dissertation, *Religion und Christentum in Theologie Rudolf Otto's*, chapter one,section one: "Spiritus Sanctus und Vernuft." Also pp. 67-8.

28. P. 152.

29. In his early work, *The Life and Work of Jesus*, Otto's approach to the question: what think you of Christ? is rather conventional. He rejects the idea that the religion of Jesus grew out of speculation and philosophy. It is not a question of logical demonstration. It emerges from the depth of the individuality of Christ himself. This early tract of Otto's already stresses the eschatological; it centers on the preaching of the kingdom of God. This book ends with the hint of the main notion of *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man*: that the highest level of divination is where the Spirit dwells in fullness. He is more than a prophet; he is the Son.

30. *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man* (*KGSM*), p. 168.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

33. *The Idea of the Holy* (*IH*), p. 227.

34. *Loc. cit.*

35. P. 62.

36. P. 156.

37. _Ibid._, p. 158.

38. In speaking of the Lord's Prayer, Otto says that it is not a prayer for the whole world, "but the common prayer of this special messianic sacred community called unto the new 'covenant,' and for those who belonged to it." _India's Religion of Grace and Christianity_ (_IRGC_), p. 125.

39. _KGSM_, p. 159.

40. _Ibid._, p. 381.

41. _IRGC_, p. 79.

42. Pp. 82-83.

43. _Loc. cit._

44. P. 153

45. _Ibid._, p. 376.

46. _The American Scholar_, 35 (Summer, 1966), p. 455.

47. _Ibid._, p. 456.

48. _Loc. cit._

49. _Religious Essays_, p. 43.

50. _Ibid._, p. 44.

51. _The Idea of the Holy_, p. 111.

52. _Ibid._, p. 109.

53. _Ibid._, p. 109-110.

54. _Loc. cit._

55. _Loc. cit._

56. P. 168.

57. _Loc. cit._

58. _Ibid._, p. 170.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

60. *Loc. cit.*

61. P. 42.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

63. Otto gives an extensive treatment of the Eucharist in the section entitled "Christ's Last Supper as the Consecration of the Disciples for Entrance into the Kingdom of God."

64. Pp. 265-6.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 274.

67. *Religious Essays*, p. 51.

68. *Erneuerung*, p. 46.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

70. *KGSM*, p. 299.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

72. *Loc. cit.*

73. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

76. Otto's eucharistic theology here is very similar to that of one of the best Roman Catholic eucharistic theologians, Nicholas Lash. Cf. his book, *His Presence in the World* (Dayton: Pflaum Press, 1968).

77. *Erneuerung*, p. 48.

78. It is on this point that Otto and the Roman Catholic liturgical theologian, Dom Odo Casel, converge and is the basis for the comparison between these two theologians regarding the notion of mystery in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

80. *Religious Essays*, p. 45ff.

81. *Ibid*., p. 46.

82. *Erneuerung*, p. 44.

83. Otto rejects the theory that the account of the Last Supper is an "aetiological myth" for a rite which originated in Hellenic mystery cults. *Religious Essays*, p. 46.

84. (Bonn: Marcus and E. Weber, 1926. Third Edition, Berlin, 1955).

85. *KGSM*, p. 278.

86. *Ibid*., p. 279.

87. In *KGSM* in his chapter on "The Associations of Sacramental Eating," Otto shows that there is a basis in the Old Testament that eating consecrated food is a sacramental act, that it was both the expression and also a medium of the sacramental union among those who ate together.

88. *Religious Essays*, p. 50.

89. *KGSM*, p. 284.

90. *Religious Essays*, p. 46.

91. This is identical to the approach of the Roman Catholic theologian, Bernard Cooke. See his article, "Synoptic Presentation of the Eucharist as Covenant Sacrifice," *Theological Studies*, 21 (1960).

92. Acts 2:46.

93. Otto recalls how once many years ago when he was traveling in Peloponnesus, he was invited by a Greek "Kumbaros" of his friend for dinner. He said, "We wish to break bread." This is a formula by which people indicate a meal. But one also invites a friend to eat bread and butter, but not to break bread. Breaking bread means a meal, but it means more than that. The breaking gives the thing some special significance.

94. *Erneuerung*, p. 45.

95. *Religious Essays*, p. 51.

96. *Erneuerung*, p. 46.

97. *KGSM*, p. 296ff.

98. *Loc. cit*.

99. *Religious Essays*, p. 50.

100. *KGSM* p. 305.

101. I Corinthians 11:26: "until the Lord comes, therefore, every time you eat this bread and drink this cup, you are proclaiming his death." I Corinthians 10:16: "The blessing-cup that we bless is a communion with the blood of Christ, and the bread that we break is a communion with the body of Christ." Thus, Otto maintains that even St. Paul with his mystical ideas of the body of Christ knew nothing of an eating and drinking of heavenly substances. *KGSM*, p. 305.

102. *Religious Essays*, p. 51.

103[a]. "I tell you most solemnly, if you do not eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you will not have life in you. Anyone who does eat my flesh and drink my blood has eternal life, and I shall raise him up on the last day. For my flesh is real food and my blood is real drink, etc."

103[b]. *Religious Essays*, p. 50.

104[a]. Dr. Thomas Talley inquires whether Otto's hinting at a private over against a public approach to the eucharistic assembly is not unrelated to the growth of house churches in our own day. (Personal letter, April 14, 1969).

My own opinion is that Otto would have been completely in favor of the so-called "house Eucharists" that are prevalent among certain liturgical Churches. They have the intimacy and informal contemplativeness Otto so desired in the Eucharist and they are celebrations at which all communicate.

104[b]. Cf. *Schaefer article*.

105. *KGSM*, p. 287.

106. *Ibid*., p. 288.

107. For Otto if the pouring of the cup was taken in the same way as the breaking of the bread, then also the comparison with the stoning is more appropriate than the comparison with the crucifixion.

108. Otto does not advocate changing the present communion service by omitting the cup or placing it before the breaking of the bread. He says that the eschatological sense originally associated with the cup must find expression in some other way. *Religious Essays*, p. 50.

109. *KGSM*, p. 276.

110. *Ibid*., p. 310.

111. *Religious Essays*, p. 50.

112. *KGSM*, p. 311.

113. *Ibid.*, pages 312-330 trace the later developments, alteration and dislocations of the meaning of the Last Supper.

114. I have in mind here such theologians as Emile Mersch, S.J. and Sebastian Tromp, S.J. and others whose thought culminated in the encyclical, *Mystici Corporis*, of Pope Pius XII, 1943.

115. Pp. 364-5.

116. Jack R. Sibley, "Rudolf Otto as a Precursor Process Theology," p. 230.

117. *Life, Mind and Spirit* (New York: Henry Holt, 1925), p. 308

118. Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

119. Sibley, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

120. *Naturalism and Religion*, p. 363.

121. Sibley says of Otto: "His understanding of the Holy as the power of God working gently and delicately within the world of concrete relations has undoubtedly done much to provoke the new dimension of depth in much of the theology of the last thirty years." P. 235.

122. *Naturalism and Religion*, p. 53.

123. Sibley, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

124. *Religious Essays*, p. 43.

125. *Loc. cit.*

126. *IH*, p. 82.

127. *Loc. cit.*

128. Gerald O'Collins, in his *Man and His New Hopes* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), says that to locate God in the future means that we respect his autonomous initiative which prevents him from any control or manipulation by man. We know that what will in fact happen consistently transcends what can be predicted. The unmanageable and unpredictable are introduced by the future. We have no key to knowing how the future will evolve. To acknowledge the futurity of God is to acknowledge his free creativity.

In this connection O'Collins feels that Otto's notion of the holy as the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* can find fresh application.

> "God is the unpredictable mystery of that future which is both terrifying and fascinating. The future engages us with the unlimited possibilities it holds. It is at the same time fearful because it is unknown and is in so many decisive ways uncontrollable by man. God is this numinous power of the future, that God who is not truly our God until his power is fully realized in the coming kingdom." P. 99

For an interesting and helpful attempt to utilize Otto's description of the holy as a transcendent mystery which is experienced as *tremendum* and *fascinans* to provide categories for speaking about the experience of the future as an experience of transcendence see Donald P. Gray, "The Future: Mysterium tremendum et fascinans," *Cross Currents*, 20 (Spring 1970). Gray points out that the world today views the future with alarm (tremendum) and expectation (fascinans). "At one moment we exult in our role as creators of ourselves and of our future and in the next we lament our victum status in the face of depersonalizing technocratic society." P. 239. We are both pessimistic and optimistic. And the future is exercising a real if at times unconscious influence over us. While we tend to think that we live out of the past, it is hope towards the future that provides the minimum of meaning for the present. Man lives on both memory and hope and while actual facts cannot be ignored "the actual facts of the past and the possible facts of the future only exist for man in an interpretive context which is properly speaking creative." P. 240. They exist in the creative imagination.

Both past and future are mysterious.

129. *IH*, p. 166.

130. *Religious Essays*, p. 44.

131. And also in *The Life and Work of Jesus* Otto had earlier dealt with Jesus' conception of the kingdom as at hand and operating in advance.

132. *West-Öestliche Mystick* (Gotha: L. Klotz, 1926. Second edition: 1929), p. 181.

133. P. 74.

134. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

135. P. 156.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

137. Sibley, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

138. *KGSM*, p. 50.

139. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

140. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 67-68. Berkouwer disagrees with Otto that John did not preach the kingdom of heaven but only announced the coming judgement and wrath of God. He accuses Otto of giving no manuscript evidence for his position and says that Otto's interpolation-view (namely that Matthew 3:2 is a redactional insertion, and that the words of John himself begin with Matthew 3:7) influences all of his interpretation of the kingdom of God. *The Sacraments* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1969), p. 93.

142. Ibid., p. 375.

143. (New York: Seabury Press, 1968), p. 227.

144. KGSM, p. 62.

145. Ibid., p. 137.

146. Ibid., p. 212.

147. Otto is reacting against the thought of his colleague, Rudolf Bultmann.

148. P. 68.

149. KGSM, p. 52.

150. Ibid., p. 51.

151. Chapter One, p. 60.

152. P. 71.

153. Ibid., p. 72

154. KGSM, p. 124.

155. India's Religion of Grace and Christianity, p. 69.

156. The second element is the idea of the real coming in which lies the contrast between the present and the future.

157. KGSM, p. 56.

158. Loc. cit.

CHAPTER IV

RUDOLF OTTO AS AN
ECUMENICAL LITURGIST

This chapter is an investigation of the ecumenical dimension of Rudolf Otto's work as a liturgist. This is mainly done by a critical comparison between Otto and Odo Casel. Casel was the leading Roman Catholic liturgical theologian contemporaneous with Otto.

First, there is an exposition of Otto's general ecumenical interests to give the background in which his ecumenical liturgical endeavors must be seen.

Second, after an introduction to the thought of Odo Casel, there is an extensive comparison of the two theologians on three major points: (1) the relationship of religious experience to their liturgical theology, (2) their understanding and use of silence in the liturgy and (3) their theological articulation of the notion of the liturgical mystery.

Finally, there is an attempt to show how many of Otto's concrete proposals of liturgical reform were anticipatory of the later reforms of the Roman Catholic Church, especially as reflected in its Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council.

Rudolf Otto's Ecumenical Interests

Otto's own liturgical reforms should always be seen in the light of his ecumenical endeavors.[1] After a brief survey of his ecumenical concerns, I shall focus on three points to illustrate Otto's particular emphasis:

(1) an ecumenical proposal for Protestants, (2) his answer to the question: "Is there a universal religion?" and (3) his desire to establish an "Inter-Religious League."

Of Otto's interest in the ecumenical movement there is ample proof. John Harvey in the preface to The Idea of the Holy says of Otto:

> Nor is there any doubt that he would have been among those who are striving to re-knit the torn fabric of Christendom by re-establishing intercourse among the Christian churches, and a truer understanding by them all of the significance of the Christian faith.[2]

Otto's ecumenical interests were closely bound to different Protestant groups,[3] but because of his poor health he did not often participate in ecumenical activities. He was not present at such important ecumenical meetings such as those held at Stockholm or Lausanne.[4] Nor was he prominent at the progressive Berlin World Congress for Free Christianity and Religious Progress (1910). On the other hand, in 1913 at the next meeting at the World Congress in Paris, he gave a main address: "Is a universal religion possible?" In Prague in 1927 he was elected to the board of directors. In 1932 he took part in the meeting of the same congress in Frankfurt which preceded the international one at St. Gall.

Otto disagreed with many concerns of an international union for free Christianity. He early emphasized the individuality and overriding worth of Christianity in his writings; and for him the peculiar task of the International Congress of Free Christianity lay in the confines of Christianity itself. It was to be less concerned with non-Christian movements. But this did not mean that Otto was not sympathetic with and open to the various forms of religious experience found in non-Christian contexts.

Although he was interested in bringing the different Western Christian groups closer together, he had a lively interest in Eastern Christianity, especially since his time with Harnack in Constantinople. (1891). Moreover, he not only translated important non-Christian Indian religious texts, he also cultivated personal relationships with religious leaders of foreign countries. He founded and led the Inter-Religious League of Mankind in 1921 which did not develop because of inauspicious times.

Otto had an appreciation for Roman Catholic cult and an enrichment of the Evangelical liturgy was close to his heart. His one chief task was to create purer and nobler expressions for Protestant liturgy.

Otto believed that there should be a voice which could speak for Protestantism as the pope did for Roman Catholics and the archbishop of Canterbury for Anglicans. But his proposal found no unanimous response. Politically and theologically the time was not ripe for such a plan.

The last effect of Otto's ecumenical interest lay in a book whose plan he welcomed and asked for, but whose appearance he did not live to see. It is the highly regarded work, _Der Katholizismus, sein Stirb und Werde_,[5] written by anonymous liberal German Catholics, with a preface by Gustav Mensching.

It has been observed that the present ecumenical movement is in danger because organization, representation and management will play too big a role. Thus it is imperative that the theologians and others involved in the movement remain in a genuine ecumenical frame of mind. Otto did this.[6]

(1) An Ecumenical Proposal for Protestants

On September 13, 1929, Otto delivered in Marburg, an address at a festival commemorating the colloquy of Luther and Zwingli regarding the union of Protestantism held in Marburg in 1529. In this address, "The Common Tasks of Protestantism and the Method of their Fulfillment," Otto listed the collective tasks that he recognized as confronting Protestantism of his time: (1) the need for a practical bond of union in Protestantism and (2) the need for an organ for collective action on a large scale.[7]

By practical bond Otto did not mean a pan-Protestantism, an external Church union with a uniform faith and order. He made no attempt to reduce Protestantism to a common denominator. He was not in sympathy with the idea of a Protestant Vatican. Otto believed that Protestantism already possessed an inner unity and that it was a question of finding an organ of common action. In order not to get involved with dogmatic forms that mimic Catholicism he preferred a "Union for Common Practical Purposes" somewhat in the shape of a "Universal Protestant Senate for the Protection of Common Protestant Interests."[8]

The first thing required would be an "urgency committee" to meet common pressing emergencies. It would be a permanent organ but would function only on demand.

> It is under certain circumstances nothing else than the common mouth of a community, which is usually silent, but speaks, and speaks with the emphasis of an official representation of the community concerned, where it is worth while to speak.[9]

Otto saw that there are four tasks to be undertaken by a practical union of world Protestantism.

(1) The Church must address itself to the question of social and community ethics. Individual sin is part of corporate sin. The Church must find answers as to how the individual and community are to take their stand in respect to family and marriage, to training and popular education, and to the relation of the classes, races and ranks to each other. Social questions are no longer local questions. They are today world questions and Protestantism as a whole must give the right answers to such great moral problems. As a whole it must have a mouth in order to speak when someone is being sinned against by society. There is no question of an infallible pope, but through the effort of conscientious, theological thought the difficult task of the application of the moral principles of the gospel and the Reformation to new situations of life can be accomplished.[10]

(2) The shrinking world means that there will be questions of general culture. For instance, the League of Nations will probably ask about the fixing of the date of Easter. Whom can it ask to find out the Protestant opinion?

(3) The most important subject is that of the Protestant minorities in the diaspora. In many countries both Protestants and Catholics are in a minority. When problems arise for the Catholics a powerful organization stands behind them and on occasion the pope will send a nuncio. It would be helpful if an organ of Protestantism as a whole were at hand to speak in its name and defend its minorities.

(4) The fourth subject is the ecumenical movement itself. For Otto the ecumenical movement rests on three main pillars: Protestantism as a whole alongside the Eastern and Anglican Communions. But Protestantism should act as a unity as in the case of the other two pillars.

Although Protestants are not as rigorously conscious of their unity, they do have their one root in the Reformation with its distinctive character.

Otto noted in conclusion that since 1922, through the Assembly of the Bethesda Conference the Europäische Zentralstelle für kirchliche Hilfsaktion has been created. It is a combined fellowship of work of the majority of Protestant Churches in an official form handling the interests enumerated in number three above. Otto said that only one step is necessary to unite with its work the remaining common tasks and to expand it into the Universal Evangelical Council he was proposing.

While Otto did concern himself with the ecumenical movement in the Protestant Church, he did not limit his interests to Christianity. This is clear from his concern with the question of a universal religion and his desire for an Inter-Religious League of Mankind.

(2) Is there a universal religion?

In Religious Essays Otto attempts to answer this question.[11] Otto rephrases the question by asking whether it is possible to do for religion what Leibnitz tried to do with language: to formulate a universal language which would go beyond the historical mould of human speech, the historically accidental, and eventuate in the common sense ideal of human speech?

After rehearsing some examples from history of attempts at universal religion for political and sociological reasons, Otto narrows the question to the possibility and desirability from the standpoint of religion itself. The question is answered affirmatively by two opposing parties: the traditionalists and the rationalists.[12]

The traditionalists hold that their own religion is religion par excellence and so should be the universal religion. Rationalism, in the other hand, believes that all historical religions are but masks and veils for a single universal religion of humanity. It demands that this religion supplant historical religions and no less than traditionalism it sets itself up as absolute.

The study of comparative religions gives a different picture, showing how each religion has its own intensely individual setting, its distinctive life center and its peculiar spirit.[13] Such various distinctions may lead to conflict with other religions. From this point of view one must measure religions with regard to their spiritual content, their higher values, their profounder truths, and their effects on character. In these respects many religions may be equally valuable and desirable. Yet it is also conceivable that one religion will show decided superiority. It is Otto's opinion that Christianity is definitely superior to other forms of religion,

> not in respect of its casual and accidental features, but in respect of its highly individual and peculiar spirit, not as truth is superior to falsehood, but as Plato is superior to Aristotle.[14]

Otto is opposed to any kind of watering down of traditions to a vague universalism to achieve unity. He opts for and finds coming the free rivalry of the great separate historical forms of religion. He finds that there is a stirring of new life in the great religions of the East. There is an immense struggle pending, and Otto thinks that some future day will see a moment in history when there will be no more political systems, economic groups, and social interests, but the religions of mankind will be pitted one against the other.

> We shall see the stage set for spirit to measure itself against spirit, ideal against ideal, experience against experience, when each will have to declare without reserve what he has that is profound and genuine, and whether he has anything.[15]

What will emerge? Will the struggle result in a new revelation of religious experience in forms one cannot guess or will it end in a triumph of the most powerful and exalted of these spirits? Otto believes that it will be a combination of both. In any case he does not think that one should forestall such developments with a premature "universal religion."[16]

Otto urges individuals to concentrate first upon what is central and individual in their own religion. By this he does not mean restoring "the paraphernalia to tradition or the apparatus of an effete dogmatism."[17] He says:

> We are not concerned to mend old clothes, but to ascertain in its truth and subtlety the individual spirit itself of a religion, and thus to set a value upon the particular, the essence of the ideals, sentiments, life and conduct which it produces, to liberate these and give them new and appropriate form.[18]

There is room, however, for some universalizing in religion, looking for the possibility of some community of interests for religions in general and for joint activities. For in spite of the diversity, all are interested in opposing irreligion and superstition.

Another common interest of all religions is

> a purifying criticism which will modernize religion, bring out its ideals, and will eliminate the accretions which have attached to it in the course of historical development, together with all mythical and legendary irrelevancies and attitudes to history and the universe which are not reconcilable with the truth.[19]

Again, if one is to understand his own religion, one must understand the varieties of religious development. Theology must be accompanied by the psychology and philosophy of religion. Contacts with others must be more than casual. There must be an intensive exchange of ideas among the representatives of religion. When this takes place, objectives for joint endeavor will emerge naturally.

Mutual missionary endeavor is another way of bringing out an interchange of interests. Missionary attempts are not justified when they come on the scene actuated by political or commercial interests. Missionaries should have acquired a thorough understanding of those qualities in their opponents which have authentic value. They should not undermine foreign religious convictions and customs nor engender "scepticism and disintegration without introducing a better moral and social order and providing a richer outlook on life."[20] But where missionary endeavor means presentation of the living content of religion, inspired by a profound insight into the nature of religion in general and allowing missionary activity to other religions, it plays a useful part in establishing contacts between religions.

Further, a community already exists where for a long time various religious bodies have overlapped within one country. All religions, however, distinctive they may be, have a considerable stock of common convictions, ideals and sentiments which are related more to the human life of the community than they are to a transcendent goal, e.g. the relation of the life of the nation as a whole and of the individual to the divine will, common rules of conscience and conduct and whatever pertains to religion as public. There is no reason why this should not bring about a common sympathy among religious bodies. This can lead to an interchange and common possession of ideas, worship and even hymns which will serve a generalized religious sense. But Otto does not see it living in concrete religious communities, in organized cults or in a universal religious organization.

> It would be a fundamental misunderstanding of the spirit to suppose that the concrete individual values, as produced by its historical development, could ever be resolved into this or any other common denominator.[21]

(3) An Inter-Religious League of Mankind

In Religious Essays[22] Otto proposed that separated Christians should combine to share common responsibilities. But he also maintained that Mohammedans, Hindus, and Parsees cannot be denied the right to cooperate in these tasks. However great religious differences may be, each must recognize one another as men of religion. From the recognition of this responsibility has arisen the need to create in Europe a Religious League of Mankind. There are four purposes to this league.

> (1) To unite men of principle everywhere that the law of justice and the feeling of mutual responsibility may hold sway in the relationship between nations, races, and classes, and that the great collective moral tasks facing cultured humanity may be achieved through a closely knit cooperation.[23]
>
> (2) No one can be truly conscientious who is only interested in personal morality and remains aloof from the demands of social ethics.
>
> (3) Men of faith can generate a world conscience enabling world events to be removed from the forces of egoism.
>
> (4) All men of good will are welcome, but especially people of faith and religious enthusiasm.

For the achievement of a world conscience more is needed than the cooperation of the Christian Churches since the larger part of mankind does not belong to these circles.

Otto rejects those who would reduce all religions to a common denominator and those who deny any possibility of cooperation. All the great religions have within them strong forces for the creation of conscience.

> No one who earnestly adheres to the laws and precepts of one of the great religions can avoid entering the struggle against the moral deficiencies or abuses of society, whatever he may claim as his motive...Immorality and prostitution, injustice and breach of treaty, unfair profit making and lust for gain, lack of spirituality and bondage to the things of this world, are fought alike by each of these religions.24

General cooperation is demanded because individual morality must be carried to common public life and there are problems which individual groups, religious communities and nations cannot solve alone. The one thing that binds religions together is their common antagonism to materialism and irreligion. This ultimate unity is the basis for combined action against the evils of the world.

Otto hoped that the formation of such a league would create a forum where great moral questions could be discussed openly before the eyes of the world. Each individual could bring the opinions and prejudices of his class, profession and nationality there. It would provide the necessary restraint to find out the truth. If the league became worldwide, it could ensure a fair and objective system of reporting as an antidote to the poison of the press, and it could free the world from one-sided territorial interests. It could note forthcoming crises in world-relationships. It could attempt to produce a conscientious public opinion.

> It would educate the conscience of the world, which can exercise moral and on occasion even physical pressure upon those in authority. It must win the support of world opinion in order to build up social equality and social justice, duties only to be accomplished by the co-operation of all men, and by a complete and radical change in the general

> attitude. It would lead a common fight against obscenity and immorality in literature and in public life; it would work for a universal solution of social problems which even when solved for a time in one place crop up anew as world communication and intellectual exchange increases if their solution is not sought in common by all peoples.[25]

Otto lists the numerous other tasks for this league: education of backward peoples, fighting exploitation, solution to the race problem, advocacy of religious and social minorities, and cultural exchange between nations. Otto was concerned that the only thing the West was giving the East was materialism and scepticism. He hoped the league would right this situation by setting up an exchange of that which is the best in the two cultures. He felt that the association must have experienced and expert people in it, but "in essence it must be a union of enthusiasts."[26]

The preliminary name of Otto's organization was "Religiöser Menschheitsbund." Its first convention was on August 1, 1922, in Wilhelmshagen near Berlin.[27] It was presided over by a Catholic priest, an officer of the Evangelical Luther Church Council, a Jewish rabbi, and a Buddhist priest and professor. Representatives of eight different religions were present. The papers were "Buddhism and the Ethical Shaping of the World" by a Buddhist priest, "The Idea of a World-Conscience" by Otto, and "Alcoholism as a World Problem" by Rolffs. A proposal that the name be simplified to Inter-Religious Work Community was defeated. Apparently, Otto preferred this latter title. The Newsletter appeared under the title "Religiöser Menschheitsbund."

It seems that the league had no more than a paper existence with Otto as the Honorary President. The president in Germany was Dr. Hauer, professor of Sanskrit and religion of the University of Tübingen. Gustav Mensching was also connected with it. The critical years of inflation in

Europe brought the work to a stand still.[28] It was later taken over by Hauer who gave it a different direction. Then, friends of Otto tried to revive it according to Otto's original notion: not syncretism, the mixture of religions, but the common endeavor of serious professors of different religions especially in respect to some common ethical task.

Otto's program for a Religious League of Mankind went far beyond the ecumenical notion of a union of Protestants. Wach says of it:

> The idea that a devout Christian, a devout Jew, a devout Moslem or Hindu posses something in common which could become the foundation of such a league appeared to many at the time fantastic or even ridiculous. It turned out that in spite of his idealism, or very possibly because of it, Rudolf Otto has been the greater realist. Today, under the violent onslaught of powers hostile to religion everywhere, the recognition begins to spread that in no religious community can there be room for the lukewarm.[29]

An Introduction to the Theology of Odo Casel[30]

Odo Casel, a man with combined German temperament and Roman desire for clarity, was born September 27, 1886, at Koblenz-Lützel. In 1905 he began his study of classical philogy in Bonn. After one semester he entered the monastery of Maria Laach. He studied philosophy and theology at the Benedictine San Anselmo in Rome and wrote a doctoral dissertation: The Doctrine of the Eucharist in St. Justin Martyr. Here he laid the groundwork for his later writings. From 1913 to 1916 he studied at Bonn again emphasizing theology with a dissertation on the mystical silence of the Greek philosophers.[31] His basic ideas have been set forth in his book, Das Gedächtnis des Herrn in der altchristlichen Liturgie,[32] and in his work in the Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft whose editorship he assumed in 1920.[33] In 1922 he was called to Herstelle on the Weser to take over the spiritual direction of the Benedictine nuns there. This group soon connected itself with the Beuron congregation. At this convent he quietly carried on his work which he could not do at Maria Laach because of fragile health. The lively community life of the nuns also brought him much stimulation and strength. He deepened and clarified his thought at this time through dialogue with those who misunderstood and attacked him.

Odo Casel is indebted to his abbot, Ildefons Herwegen (1874-1946), who was the father of the liturgical movement in Germany and who was convinced that a renewal of the Christian life through the liturgy demanded a renewal of liturgical theology. In articulating his doctrine of the mystery Casel owed much to the stimulus and support of Abbot Herwegen. He was also indebted to the founder of the Belgian liturgical movement, Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873-1960).

Casel did not fail to recognize the underlying principles of the more pastoral direction of the liturgy as it stemmed from the Enlightenment and such men as Franz Georg Lock (1751-1831), the Bishop of Bautzen, and Ignatius Henrich von Wessenberg (1774-1860), the Vicar General of Constance. But he knew that the task of the liturgy for himself was not exhausted in teaching, educating, and building up liturgical understanding. He felt himself more in accord with Johann Michael Sailer (1741-1832) and the great Tübingen theologians: Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838), Franz Anton Staudenmaier (1800-1859), Martin Deutinger (1815-1864), and Franz Xavier Reithmayr (1809-1872).

Casel was also in sympathy with the positive theology of the seventeenth century, especially of such theologians as Dionysius Petavius (1583-1652) and Louis Thomassin d'Eynac (1619-1694) since his own approach to theology was positivistic, that is, heavily dependent on the sources, especially the Church Fathers. Like these theologians, Casel was not inclined to emphasize the idea of sacrifice in the past-Tridentine polemical way. Nor did he go along with such theologians as F. S. Renz or F. Wieland who tended to emphasize the prayer and meal character of the Eucharist one-sidedly. Neither did he want the mystery theology to be construed as another theory of the mass as sacrifice. He was influenced by M. J. Scheeben (1835-1888) as well as numerous theologians who wrote on the sacrificial character of the mass: P. Cagin, M. Lepin, M. de la Taille, J. Diekamp, J. Kramp, W. Goossens, E. Masure, and A. Vonier. Casel resembled that group of theologians who although different in method were one in aim: to strive for a deeper understanding of the liturgy. Such men were: M. Schmaus, F. X. Arnold, J. Pinsk, Romano Guardini, G. Söhngen, and J. A. Jungmann. He had a high regard for H. Lietzmann and the Jesuit, Emile Mersch.

Casel's verbal and literary exchanges with prominent liturgiologists were of great importance, in the case of such men as A. Baumstark, K. Mohlberg, J. Dölger, B. Capelle, B. Botte, J. Braun, T. Klauser, O. Heiming, H. Frank, and A. Mayer. Among his supporting friends would be numbered J. P.Hendrix and J. Quasten. With some modification he would be in accord with P. Dupoloyé, L. Bouyer, C. Journet, H. Schlier, E. Schillebeeckx and Otto Semmelroth. Others such as Vagaggini who rejected Casel's theory, did adopt much from him or were stimulated to think through anew their traditional understanding. Casel's critics include E. Przywara, J. B. Umberg, J. M. Hanssens, K. Prümm, B. Porschmann, and J. Brinktrine.

Casel's ecumenical contacts included Bishop W. Stählin, K. B. Ritter, R. Otto, F. Heiler, G. van der Leeuw.[34] Some of these spread Casel's ideas in their own circles. Evangelical theologians who were sympathetic to the mystery teaching would be P. Brunner, E. Schlink and W. Marxsen.

Although Casel received much stimulus from contemporary exegesis, philology and theology, he held fast to his basic ideas which he felt were based on his own inevitable experience.

Casel's work was in line with the general tenor of the liturgical movement. He anticipated much which later research brought to light. While the encyclical, Mediator Dei (Nov. 20, 1947), did reject the extreme position of the mystery theology, its basic idea of the presence of the redemption of Christ in the Church Year was espoused by it. This is clear in the case of the Second Vatican Council which also echoes this theology.[35] Thus, the highest Church authority has now approved the basic insight of the mystery theology.

Casel did not give definitive solutions to many incidental questions because the state of scholarship had not yet been sufficiently advanced. Although his expressions at times were unfortunate and certain things in his theology must be redone, he did point the way for further work in this area. Many of the terms he used have become part of theology today. Despite the fact that Casel did his work over 20 years ago, he did read well the signs of the time. It should be noted that certain problems of pastoral theology were not as pressing in his time as they are today. Thus, he did not advocate that the Eucharistic Prayer be put into the vernacular. His main concern was for a deeper understanding of the traditional forms and prayers.[36] Yet it was his critical and discerning attitude which prepared the way for the present liturgical research.

Casel has been accused of showing little interest in the Old Testament and in Judaism. This can be partly explained by the state of scripture scholarship in Catholic circles at the time. Actually, for a time dominated by the study of the history of religions, Casel was quite aware of the work on the Old Testament through his friends, R. Otto and A. Baumstark. Casel saw the relationship between the Eucharist and the Jewish Berakah long before other Catholic scholars. For him scripture and tradition are the only valid sources of Christian thought and life, and so out of respect for this entrusted heritage he avoided translating it into his own words. As a result his later work at times turns out to be little more than a collection of texts with minimal commentary. Also for this reason he preferred to maintain Greek terminology and to translate revered Latin expressions into Greek rather than into German.

Because Casel's approach is that of the biblical history of salvation his theological vision was comprehensive. When he dealt with the Eucharist, he also dealt with Ecclesiology and Christology. What think you of the Eucharist was another way of saying what think you of the Church and in turn, what think you of Christ? He was concerned with the whole of revelation especially under the history of salvation and its cultic aspects.

Casel's theology of cult is especially deep. For him cult is not merely external form or action. Cult touches the whole man and demands inner participation. It is the service of praise and thanks. It is not just the work of man. It is God's treatment of man and a happening begun by God. It reaches out to man and evokes a response. It is a mystery.

More specifically, in regard to the character of the Eucharist as a meal or a sacrifice, Casel did not choose one over the other, but tried to synthesize both aspects. However, the proper concept of sacrifice was necessary for this and so Casel set himself to this task. He was unwilling to let the idea of sacrifice become purely intentional. There must be the reality of sacrifice in the Eucharist. Sacrifice has a positive, life-giving meaning in which a transforming consecration to the life of God and to union with God in love comes about. This very positive approach to sacrifice may have caused confusion in the question of the "heavenly offering," but in any discussion of Casel's theory it must be presupposed that God's acceptance and communion with man is part of the nature of sacrifice, its very purpose. The finality of sacrifice is not to bring itself to fulfillment in heaven but it is to bring man from an earthly to a heavenly reality. Sacrifice in this narrow sense is not eternal. Rather, the breaking into, the passing over from time to eternity is what gives it its eschatological character. Casel did not use the idea of the heavenly sacrifice to clarify the presence of the sacrifice of the cross in the mass.

Sometimes Casel uses the notion of sacrifice in a wider sense as surrender or devotion of love, but this is not the meaning in connection with the Eucharist. Surrender in the context of the mass means renunciation rather than enjoyment or partaking. For Casel cultic sacrifice is a way to joy but only through pain, a way to fulfillment through renunciation, a way to communion with God through the surrender of the ego. It brings men to the inner being of Christ freed from sin, the law and death. It brings about the passage to the Spirit.

The Spirit is an important element in Casel's theology. It has many meanings for him: the Holy Spirit as the third person, the messianic gift of Christ, the Lord in his exaltation and transfiguration through the cross, his presence in the Church, the Church as the whole Christ, the Spirit of Christ in us, and the spirit of man born anew through the dying and rising with Christ in baptism and the Eucharist. But pneuma's chief meaning for Casel is the fullness of the trinitarian life which is given to man as grace.

Casel stresses the close connection between the Spirit and the Church. His Ecclesiology is in large part pneumatology. However, he does not ignore the institutional and juridical elements. The Spirit must be incarnated in some organized community. As a pneumatic community the Church is a mystery in the sense of salvation history--a salvation community. As a mystery the Church does not replace Christ, but completes him. It does not create salvation, but is the receiving and mediating pole in salvation. This is what Casel means when referring to the Church as the Bride of Christ. The mystery of Christ and the Church is disclosed in the mystery of worship. Yet the mystery of worship is founded on the mystery of the Church.[37] The Church is the Grundsakrament from which the other sacraments flow. Through these sacraments it is totally realized in its members. For Casel the Church is not only the community of salvation but even more the worshipping community. Its highest fulfillment is found in the worship of God which is salvific for man.

Against this general background Casel's understanding of the sacramental salvation mystery must be seen. This is especially true of the mass as the sacrificial mystery. The mystery has a latreutic and a soteriological meaning. First of all, it is a Eucharist, but it is also a sacrifice because it is the thankful response to the sacrifical love and sacrifice of God in Christ, and is actually accomplished existentially in the celebration of the mass and then given back to the Father. Through the sacrificial mystery Christ draws the believer to participation in the unique, all comprehensive, supremely valid Eucharist which he presented to God the Father through his death on the cross. Thus the mass becomes the authentic expression of thanks for what God has done in Jesus Christ. This was expressed in the Eucharist Prayer of the early Church and is the meaning of the Eucharistic Prayer today.

Casel considered the canon a unity that includes the acclamations, the preface and Sanctus. What is considered new today, was taken for granted by Casel, namely, that the worship and the sacrificial, anamnetic and epicletic elements in the canon cannot be separated from one another. This is essential to understand the real structure of the Eucharistic Prayer. For this reason Casel placed emphasis on the anamnesis as the cultic, real commemoration through which salvation is again made present and actualized.

But Casel was not just concerned with the morphological structure of the canon, he was also interested in its theological themes. It is more than a liturgical prayer of thanksgiving. It is the fundamental support of the religious and Christian life. Praise, power, and love are further themes. Casel successfully developed this "motif-theology" by demonstrating the unity and dynamism of the whole mystery-drama which takes place in each mass celebration. Even if it is God in Christ who is working here, men should be included as participants and not only men but the whole universe. For the powers and forces, the cosmic elements are also brought in as expressed in the last words of the preface. Through the offering of gifts as well as the offering of praise the whole physical universe is symbolically represented. Also the world of the spirits and angels participate because the service of the earthly Church is participation and reflection of the heavenly liturgy. Each mass is a sign of the universal degree in which heaven and earth are united because in this mystery God and man are reconciled.

The culmination of this powerful event is that the offering of Christ on the cross is made present in the celebration of the mass. This position is more and more acceptable now. The question remains how this happens so as not to endanger the uniqueness of the cross. This question always lies in the background of Casel's work but it is never discussed explicitly by him. There is some hint of his position and this will be discussed in the section on mystery.

Casel's basic insight has been recognized by the Second Vatican Council because the culminating theme of the achievement of the Council can be summed up as the presence of Christ among us. Some mean by this the presence of the transfigured Christ who from heaven stands by his pilgrim Church on earth. Yet how can man be truly crucified with this heavenly Christ who dies no more, or offer with him since there is no true sacrifice in heaven? Others mean that the victim Christ is present. But how can one suffer and die with the Lord who has already suffered and undergone death. According to Casel, the death of the Lord, the passion of Christ and Christ's suffering must be present so that one can fully participate in his redeeming death. Only then can one participate in his Easter glory. It is the Paschal Mystery that stands in the middle of the realization of salvation. It is this passage of

Jesus to his Father that one must participate in liturgically through faith if one wishes to reach the Father through Jesus. How this takes place concretely is secondary to the fact that the Son of God offering himself on the cross is with man in order to take him to the Father by means of his sacrifice. The renewal of this basic insight and its defense against all rationalistic and personal attacks is the indisputable service and legacy of Casel.

Casel's death was a fitting end to a life devoted to the theological interpretation of the liturgy. At the Easter Vigil in 1948 (March 28) at the convent at Herstelle-Weser, he had just carried the Paschal candle into the dark church and as deacon had intoned the threefold _Lumen Christi_ and was beginning to chant the _Preconium_ _Paschale_ (_Exultet_) when he suffered a stroke. He died early Easter morning.

Liturgy and Religious Experience: Odo Casel

While Casel made contributions in his historical works, his real leadership was found in his work of revival of the mystery theology from the spirit of the bible and the Fathers. It was not from an intellectual curiosity or pure speculation that he formed his new view of the sacramental life of the Church but from basic religious experience. This view he called _Mysteriengeschehen_=mystery-event. This refers to the cultic action of the community through which God makes present the historical once for all complete redemptive action of Christ under sacred signs so that the faithful can participate in it and so that the faithful can attain their salvation through these signs.

Casel was trying to free sacramental theology from Rationalism and the individualistic Pietism that had characterized it since the late Middle Ages. Religious life must be grounded in the great truths of the faith which can touch man in his depths. For this the basic presuppositions of theology and philosophy must be renewed. Above all, the mass must be understood and shaped in a different way: as the sacrificial mystery, the sacrifice of the cross made contemporary, which worshippers offering themselves must participate in with love and faith.

The formation of the Convent of the Holy Cross also shaped Casel's own interior life. He was not just a teacher, he was primarily a monk who loved quiet and recollection while remaining open to the world and available for others. He was of the charismatic and prophetic type motivated by his faith convictions. His doctrine came from personal experience and suffering rather than excogitation. Thus he was able to remodel the Herstelle Convent to such a high level that even the sharpest opponents of his mystery doctrine were amazed when they came into contact with it.

It is difficult to classify Casel in terms of theological schools.[38] One might say that he started a new one but he would have disowned that. He did not consider his mystery theology a theory of speculative theology but a venerable heritage always present in the Church and now in need of refurbishing. For Casel it was not a personal opinion, but a personal experience of the basic Christian truth. He did not consider himself a revolutionary but an interpreter of tradition.

Casel's theology stemmed from the life of the Church. Theology for him was not merely theoretical nor acadmeic, it was much more a question of existential fulfillment, that is, existential in the biblical sense, not existentialistic. His concern was to throw light on human existence not anthropocentrically by reflecting on man in his immanence but on existence as given by God to whom one owes his origin, continuance and fulfillment.

In one sense Casel's theology can be designated as empirical since it flows from his own experience and he wanted to bring others to the same experience. He often told his friends that his mystery doctrine was not the result of historical discovery or speculative intuition but of his own experience. In a letter to a Flemish friend Casel wrote that the intuition of the mystery doctrine came to him during the liturgy of a high mass.[39] His studies of the ancient mysteries and the Church Fathers helped, but the starting point was the liturgy itself. Here he realized that the mass was more than a devotion or a means of grace. It was an action of the highest salvation significance.

Casel was also helped by a study of the Roman collects and the relationship of the word, mysterium, to their contents. He suspected that such a study would reveal the inner unity of Christian doctrine and its realization. It was only later at the time of his studies in the history of religions at Bonn that he found the pagan mysteries a suitable analogy for the Christian experience. In reaction to the subjectivism and rationalistic individualism of his contemporaries and their anthropocentric concept of religion he wished to emphasize the objectivity of religion which could only be experienced in the liturgical assembly. Charles Davis points out that Casel was reacting against a current mentality. He rejected the impoverished view that Christianity was merely the acceptance of a collection of doctrinal statements and the observance of a strict moral code assisted by periodic infusions of graces from God.

> It was in opposition to this modern, anthropocentric, subjective, rationalist concept of religion that Casel declared that the Christian thing was not a religion but a mystery as the ancients understood the word.[40]

But as will be noted later at no time did Casel attempt to derive the Christian sacraments from the pagan cults of which he was accused time and time again. The pagan cults were not sources for the Christian liturgy but only a means of illustrating the latter's reality.

It is important to note that one reason Casel was inclined to find an analogy between paganism and Christianity rather than between Judaism and Christianity in connection with the mystery of the liturgy was the fact of religious experience. In paganism the notions of tradition and inward mysticism tended toward a unity. In Christianity this unity was in fact achieved. Judaism kept to the more academic kind of tradition. It resembled Islam in that tradition became associated with the handing down of texts by strict memory. Not that there was no mememorization of the scriptures among CHristians but there was a difference. "In Christianity an element of enthusiasm enters the scene which was lacking in late Judaism as in Islam."[41] In the pagan mysteries the god himself was supposed to appear to the initiates and fill them with enthusiasm and inspiration. Tradition becomes a new religious experience, a personal experience of inward fulfillment. Christianity is the unity of Jewish traditionalism and the pagan mystical enthusiasm. Both elements are found in Christian tradition. "Here is both the historical witness to the truths of faith and mystical contemplation of these truths, as well as their realization in the mystery action."[42]

Casel saw as his task the transmission of the Christian tradition with as much fidelity as possible. His concern was more pastoral than theoretical. He wanted a renewed gospel, a renewed tradition, and a renewed Christian life. His intent was to bring his own experience into harmony with revelation and ecclesiastical tradition in order to prove its unity and authenticity. Although Casel did not have present biblical scholarship available, this did not vitiate his objectivity since he tried to let the sources speak for themselves. This did not mean that Casel was lost in the past, but that he was reacting to the materialism and atheism of his time. He hoped to oppose these with a renewed understanding of the Christian faith.

It is true that Casel did not have the categories for his new insight. He did not possess a sufficiently philosophical background for this. Although he was opposed to a rationalistic theology which attempted to resolve all the mysteries into conceptual definitions and theses, he tried to clarify his intuition with the usual scholastic concepts. Often this led to more misunderstanding than clarification. He did, however, serve as a catalyst for revision of conceptualization in this area of theology.

Emphasis on experience did not mean that faith for Casel was just a matter of understanding, feeling or willing. It is the relationship of the inner man to God. He wished to restore a sense of the divine, of the complete otherness of God, the mystery of God. This ineffable God has communicated himself to man in Jesus Christ. Religion is not primarily what one does, but God's action on one by which one enters his life.

Davis says of this:

> We must recapture an awe before God, a sense of his majesty and inaccessibility to man as man, and then we will appreciate the mystery of His eternal plan of love, which is the Christian revelation.[43]

Although there is a close relationship between the cultic and the soteriological in this theology, Casel never fell into the trap of degrading the liturgy into a means for saving one's soul. This indicates that he always kept the pastoral emphasis in mind, although he spoke less of personal experience than is customary today. He took it for granted that through the saving dynamic of the liturgy the person participated in the entire event as a member of the community. The pneumatic in man can only be understood in a personal way and the worship of God is the highest preoccupation man can have in his irreplaceable advance in personhood. While it is the task of the Church to worship God not only on earth, but also in heaven, it also represents the entire cosmos symbolically because of its solidarity with all things.

Liturgy and Religious Experience: Otto

It is consistent with Otto's theological approach that his ideas and practices concerning the liturgy flowed from his understanding of religious experience. As is clear from The Idea of the Holy and Mysticism: East and West, he considered the history of religions and the mystical tradition as the sources for investigating the numinous. In liturgy as well as in his general theological approach his method was based on religious experience, that is, it was empirical.[44]

In The Philosophy of Religion, Otto says that nature and grace are not two different realms within reality. The permanent is expressed through the transient. He sees nature and grace as sacramentally related as outward to inward, an incarnation of the divine which is consonant with the physical world. Because of the work of De Wette, Schleiermacher, Herder and Fries, Otto felt one can go beyond the natural versus supernatural to the position that history is a teleological process in which God is gradually coming to himself.[45]

Otto's methodology is that of empirical description. Philosophically one must obtain a general conception of religion and religious experience with respect to the nature of the human spirit and what it is capable of with respect to experience. Thus the science of religion always presupposes philosophy and anthropology.

Otto's efforts in The Philosophy of Religion indicate that he rejected his earlier attempts in Naturalism and Religion to free knowledge and religious experience from all empirical connections and limitations. He later affirmed a more holistic view.[46] This shift is indicative that Otto felt a need for an empirical base for this theological methodology.[47] This is the product of his criticism of Fries and Kant in his The Philosophy of Religion,[48] and it is further confirmed in Otto's later works and in his view of eschatology.[49]

What most cogently illustrates Otto's empirical approach is his thesis that intuitions and feelings are necessary to grasp the religious dimension. Already in Naturalism and Religion in his section on "Intuitions of Reality," Otto had said that "in feeling and intuition appearance points beyond itself to real being."[50] In the expressions of the beautiful and sublime one experiences directly that the reality is greater than one's power of understanding. One feels something of its true nature and meaning. Such feelings remain indefinite and vacillating in the Godless, but in the religious mind it immediately unites with what is of similar nature and it becomes worship.[51]

And in The Philosophy of Religion Otto gives some examples of a genuine religious feeling. One is Augustine's restlessness or religious yearning. It is an utterly confused feeling incapable of symbolic expression. It is a general feeling of the depth and mystery of the universe. "It can surge up in the guise of a disconcerting force, from the deepest places of a man's consciousness, and make him quiver in every nerve."[52] Otto says that personally he had this experience once in the evening silence in the sandy desert that faces the hugh Sphinx of Ghizeh whose eyes gaze into the infinite.

Other concrete examples of how religious experience has influenced Otto as a theologian would be the impact of his stay in India on his later writings and the fact that he received the inspiration to write The Idea of the Holy while contemplating a burning lamp in a mosque. It is well to recall here from Chapter Three the importance of the experience of the Resurrection for understanding the Risen Christ, the founding of the Church in terms of the analogous experience of "holy men," and the centrality of the present experience of the kingdom of God.

Otto's own words best sum up his position on theology and religious experience:

> The focal point, the starting point for all science of religion and especially for the Christian branch of that science, is Religious Experience, a thing that it not interpreted by mythology and archeology, that in default of immediate personal knowledge must be understood from the life of those who are religious in the narrower and more forcible sense... Every peculiar spiritual phenomenon can best be understood at its highest level, where its force is concentrated.[53]

That Otto's approach to the liturgy was firmly based on religious experience is evident from the content of Chapters One and Two. A few concrete examples are recalled here.

The very fact that Otto experimented in the liturgy indicates that he saw a relationship between worship and experience. But it is his concern that religious values be revived before reforming the liturgy that especially emphasizes his concern that worship is not done in a vacuum. He says that as a preparation for liturgical reform there should be a greater emphasis on the devotional life such as retreats, spiritual directors, and meditation. He also thought it necessary to take cognizance of the contemporary interest in contemplation. He notes the growing interest in Zen.

In his attempt to revitalize Protestant worship and to turn the emphasis from didacticism to adoration, Otto urged the retention of symbols and signs such as candles, processions, and flowers which are part of people's lives. There must be freedom and diversity in worship so that it can respond to local needs and temperaments.

There should be a built-in rhythm in the liturgy. The prayers should culminate in the silent worship. The liturgy of the Word should be short, compact, and climactic. The prayer service should also build to a high point. During the Lenten season, the passion of Christ should not be emphasized too quickly. It should be built up to gradually. Each Sunday with its own special character should make use of pictures and illustrations.

Liturgical music should spring from contemporary experience. All forms of religious experience should come to concretization in Church music since artistic creativity here is tied to the formation of community.

Church music and prayers should have more of the numinous. They should speak of God rather than to him. Impersonal references to the divinity should be used. The character of mystery is lost through the use of personal names and images of social relationships. Spontaneous prayer does not happen by itself. It must flow from an inner preparation and mood.

Probably no emphasis in Otto's liturgical reforms so highlights his understanding of the relationship of experience to worship as that of his use of silence. His own experience of silence in the Quaker Service convinced him of its necessity.

These few examples indicate that there is no question that in practice for Otto religious experience and the liturgy were closely connected. This is true despite the criticisms that Otto was a syncretistic liturgiologist and that his experimental liturgies were not realistic, but were too aesthetic and foreign to the ordinary congregation.

The difficulty with Otto's position comes from his articulation of the nature of religious experience. As will become clear in the section dealing with mystery in worship, at times Otto so emphasized the uniqueness of religious experience that it was seen as an alternative to normal life. For instance in The Idea of the Holy he says:

> The hours of his "visitation" and his "return" are rare and solemn occasions, different essentially not only from the "profane" life of everyday, but also from the calm confiding mood of the believer, whose trust is to live ever before the face of God. They are the topmost summits in the life of the spirit. They are not only rare occasions, they must needs be so for our sakes, for no creature can bear often or for long the full nearness of God's majesty in its beatitude and in its awefulness. Yet there must be such times, for they show the bright vision and completion of our sonship, they are a bliss themselves and potent

> for redemption. They are the real sacrament, in comparison with which all high official ceremonials, Masses and rituals the world over become the figurings of a child.[54]

This statement of Otto leads Dr. Thomas Talley to say:

> Otto deals with the phenomenology of religious experience at the individual level, but he tells us nothing of sacred community, nor is this an accident of selectivity. Public worship is for him not an act for the manifestation and constitution of the holy people as sacrament of the kingdom, but merely an opportunity for devotional encounter.[55]

Talley agrees that Otto points up the notion of the primacy of mystical experience over liturgical life, but he is not certain why Otto wishes to account for public worship as an opportunity for such experience and as nothing more than that.[56] Talley also feels that in Otto's approach there is no reason for the gathering of people for divine worship. The holy is perceived in mystical experience as a rare encounter. It can just as well be done solus cum solo. Otto does not tell one how the holy is to be applied to a people. The regular liturgical assemly is too commonplace for the setting of the Eucharist which Otto prefers to have on specially assigned occasions outside the time of the regular service. Talley's criticism is that Otto has given more a psychology than a phenomenology of religion because he grants such autonomy to religious experience.

> Otto was a child of his age, but he was also a child of his confession, as his few casual references to liturgy suggest. Without wishing to detract from the importance of his contribution to our understanding of the psychology of religious encounter, we must yet insist that his preoccupation with the rare encounter with the Mysterium tremendum et fascinans suggested a necessary separateness of religion which reduced the liturgy to pietism and romanticism. Writing in the disillusioned rationalist situation of Europe just after the First World War, he tried to show what religious experience was yet possible and the importance of it. But if he was perforce dealing with the occasional religious experience of the individual

> in a profane world, we must not suppose this balance to be characteristic of religion as such.[57]

Talley is against the kind of approach that sees religious experience as an occasional release from profanity. The sacred must be manifest in history and historical structures. And yet the locus of religious experience must be the liturgical community for symbols can only function when they are articulated in a community of faith. The encounter with the Mysterium tremendum et fascinans is authentic to the degree it is engaged in history-as-sacred which is realized in the liturgical community.

> Because Otto's understanding of the holy was non-liturgical, because for him the sacred remained an alternative to historical engagement, he saw the ethical or moral content of the holy as secondary and derived and resisted reference to holy persons in reaction to what he saw as a tendency to limit the meaning of holiness to moral goodness.[58]

But adoration and service are not alternatives and response to suffering and injustice in the world is not an alternative to cult. Talley's question about Otto are: what is the relationship of personal experience to liturgical/communal structures? How does Otto relate his notion of religious experience to baptism and so to the liturgical community?[59]

Talley's criticisms of Otto are important and point to the ambiguity in Otto's articulation of the relationship between religious experience and worship. Chapter Three in the section on the Church noted that Otto did not explain why he maintained the relationship of the liturgy and the Church. For this reason he leaves himself open to the criticism that worship is "merely an opportunity for devotional encounter."

As regards the point that the regular liturgical assembly was considered by Otto as too commonplace for the Eucharist, I have already indicated in Chapter Three that this was due more to Otto's pastoral sensitivities than to theological conviction.

It is true that Otto does at times speak of religious experience in an individualistic and anti-liturgical way. But one receives this impression if one limits one's understanding of Otto on this point to what he has written in The Idea of the Holy. His earlier and later works indicate that religious experience is less of an isolated phenomenon. Although his approach, if limited to The Idea of the Holy, sounds as if he makes too much of a dilemma between the sacred and the profane, this is mitigated in light of his concern that the Church open itself to the world. And his criticism of the other liturgical movements in Germany, that they tended to overemphasize the distinction between the sacred and the secular, soften what appears as too great a dichotomy in Otto's own thinking on this point.

Otto's earlier work in Naturalism and Religion and The Philosophy of Religion as well as his later, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, indicate quite clearly that he was more processive than static in his thinking on religious experience. In this sense he was not non-liturgical, and the sacred for him was not an alternative to historical engagement. This is the case despite the fact that many expressions in The Idea of the Holy would lead one to judge otherwise. In this book he definitely separates the ethical content of the holy from the numinous. But that is due to the fact that in The Idea of the Holy he is concerned mainly with the non-rational aspect of the holy.

Talley is wrong in implying that Otto considered adoration and service as alternatives. Chapter One clearly indicates the various pastoral and ethical concerns of Otto in enlivening religion as a propaeduetic to the reform of the liturgy. But Talley is correct to point out that the relationship of personal experience and the liturgical experience is not clarified by Otto. He made no attempt to relate religious experience to baptism.

Liturgy and Religious Experience: Casel and Otto

1. Both were reacting to the rationalism and subjectivism of the European religious situation after the First World War. Casel was also reacting to the rationalistic and individualistic Scholasticism found in Roman Catholic circles. Otto was concerned about the didacticism that Protestant worship had fallen into dating as far back as the Enlightenment.

2. Both felt that the presuppositions of philosophy and theology must be renewed. Neither claimed to have started a new theological school. Neither was a speculative theologian. Otto employed the methods of phenomenology; Casel, that of interpreting tradition in the light of his experience.

3. Both were concerned to harmonize their religious experience with revelation, without endangering the authenticity of either. While both were opposed to resolving the mystery of religion by rationalistic theology, because of their approaches, Casel using Scholastic concepts and Otto employing the phenomenological method in the context of his Kantian background, both used expressions that led to misunderstandings of their positions.

4. Both worked in the area of the history of religions, Otto with the Eastern, Casel with the pagan and Hellenistic cultures.

5. Casel's understanding of mystery in the liturgy grew from the religious experience of his life as a monk and his understanding of the pagan mysteries. Otto's interest in liturgical reform developed from his religious experience and his work in the history of religions.

6. Both cultivated a deep spirituality for others by their work in the liturgy, Otto in the St. Jost Chapel at Marburg, Casel at the Herstelle Convent. Casel was a monk and Otto a Protestant minister. Both lived recollected lives. Otto was considered a mystic. Casel was of a prophetic nature.

7. Casel emphasized the objectivity of religious experience in the liturgy. Otto did the same, but the relationship between the two is clearer in Casel. Both maintained that the Eucharist must be reshaped to make clear that the sacrifice of the cross is made contemporary in the liturgical rite.

8. Although both had highly empirical concerns, neither reduced the transcendent to the immanent. Neither degraded the liturgy to a mere means of salvation. For both it was a communal preoccupation with the holy which does not separate man from the world. Both were concerned with a renewed Christian life.

Silence in the Liturgy: Casel[60]

No age, says Casel, has talked so much as our own. The more man is alienated from God and wishes to be in control of himself, the more he talks. But old men awaiting salvation from God love silence. They are students according to the mind of St. Benedict, i.e., they keep quiet and listen. Benedict forbade vain and evil speech. The Church and the monastic tradition have always highly revered silence.

In his approach to silence in the liturgy Casel maintains that one should first look to nature before going to the scriptures. Many thoughts and practices of the Church become clear if one studies the views and rites of non-Christian peoples. This is especially true of the so-called Classical people of ancient times. They showed a high degree of human development and had a direct influence on growing Christianity. This was compatible with the workings of divine Providence. The Fathers said that the Judaic laws and the wisdom of the world of the Greeks were preparations for the gospel.

Casel analyzes religious silence among the Greeks and compares it to the silence in the liturgy. He finds there are three kinds of silence for the Greeks: (1) silence during the official liturgy, (2) mystical silence in the proper sense, and (3) silence in contemplation.

(1) Regarding silence in the official worship or the offering, there must be no unbecoming word, no improper shout for these would make the whole offering unworthy. One may only raise one's voice at established points at the summons of the herald. On this account the herald calls out at the beginning of the celebration: favete linguis: speak good things, speak only proper and favorable words, be quiet in order not to say anything that

is not propitious.

There is no direct analogy to this practice in the Church. It considers it superstitious that a shout can make an offering unworthy. Yet the liturgy does have an exclamation in the same sense in the Sursum Corda. To begin the canon of the mass, the proper prayer of offering and highest act of the liturgy, the priest at the preface summons the faithful to lift up their hearts. It is a call to purify their hearts and fill them with that which is Godly. This Christian acclamation has the same meaning as the heathen one. But it has a deepened meaning and moves from a prohibition to a positive offer or bidding.

The Greek Christian liturgy has given to this idea of the Sursum Corda a second impressive form. In the offertory procession during the Great Entrance the Cherubic Hymn is sung. The faithful are asked to lay aside their cares, their earthly senses. They are asked to come to greet the king with his following of angels. An older but similar hymn is sung at the Easter Vigil: "Let all mortal flesh keep silence and with fear and trembling stand" (Cherubic Hymn of Liturgy of St. James). Casel's point is that in the liturgy, one learns how to be silent by being filled with Godly thoughts.

(2) Besides the official liturgy the pagan Greeks knew of the mysteries, which were only accessible to the initiates. While the official liturgy was more like a political agreement between the people and the gods based on the idea of do ut des, the mysteries were more concerned with a personal interior union with a divinity who also promised happiness in the next life. One prepared for this initiation with holy washings and abstinence. The initiate experienced in dramatic representation the

event of the gods; he took part in their sufferings and joys. There were holy formulas and symbols which must be recited and in which the mysteries are known. The initiates belonged henceforth to the special family of the divinity. What they had seen and experienced they could not communicate to the uninitiated. This maintaining of a secret was called mystical silence.

This silence did not spring from theological doctrine, for theology in the strict sense does not know the mysteries. It came from the liturgy of the mysteries, from the dramatic presentation of the life of the gods, the holy rites, and the formulas. This mystical silence was a liturgical discipline and part of the cult. It was very severely observed. In Eleusis the death sentence was the punishment for breaking this silence. The details of these celebrations of the mysteries are not known today.

The _silentium mysticum_ had its counterpart in Christianity. It was the "arcane discipline," which was especially prominent from the second to the fifth centuries. It disappeared when there were no more unbelievers and all were baptised as children. Its essence was that the unbaptized must not participate in certain things. It was concerned, as in the case of the Greeks, not with theological doctrine (e.g. Christians were not forbidden to speak of the Incarnation to heathens), but with liturgical actions, especially the sacraments which were also called mysteries. The specific details of baptism, confirmation and the Eucharist were not to be shared with the unbaptized. Even the catechumens could only take part in the mass of the catechumens, known as the liturgy of the Word. At the Easter Vigil they joined the others in the Eucharist, the mysteries in the fullest sense of the word, without full knowledge of what they had been expecting. Only in the week after Easter would they be instructed in what they had experienced. The Fathers called this preaching "mystagogical catechesis" (Cyril of Jerusalem) and the preaching of the mysteries (Ambrose). Certain texts such as the "Our Father" and the creed were given to them shortly before baptism. They were to learn them by heart and never write them down lest they fall into the hands of the profane. The creed was the symbol in the strict sense: the word of salvation in which Christians recognize each other. The *disciplina arcana* was true mystical silence. One thinks of the symbolic sign language such as the fish found in the catecombs. It would conceal from the profane what was automatically clear to the initiate.

Gradually a *disciplina arcana* developed for the faithful or those already initiated through baptism. This was due especially to the influx after the Peace of Constantine of people into the Church who were not properly initiated. The canon of the mass which in the beginning was completely sung very early was prayed quietly. Casel describes enthusiastically the practice at the Papal Mass as described in the ancient *Ordines Romani*. After the *Sanctus* the bishops, deacons, subdeacons, and presbyters, who were standing around the altar, bow low until the end of the silent canon. Only the subdeacon at the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* and the archdeacon at the end rise to help in the elevation of the *oblata* and the chalice. Then all stand upright and sing *Amen*. The whole basilica is filled with the multitude of people and clerics bending low; the pope along upright in silent prayer.[61] In the Greek Christian Church the doors of the Iconostasis were closed during the sacrifice proper. There are also some remains of the *disciplina arcana* in the office. The "Our Father" and the creed are only intoned and then continued silently.[62] That some leave out the words: "forgive us as we forgive others" from the Lord's Prayer because they claim that they must be heard by others if they are to be purified of their minor failings only highlights the fact that this practice was seen as a "secret discipline."

What is the foundation of the disciplina arcana? The Fathers refer to Matthew 7:6: "Do not give the holy to dogs and cast not pearls to swine." One should also not entrust the holy to those who are incapable of understanding and appreciating it. Comparison with the heathen discipline of silence makes this clear. Among the pagan Greeks it was the awe, the divine realities, of which one was made worthy through the grace of the gods. To speak of them before profane ears was to dishonor them. "The great awe of the gods holds back the tongue," said the homeric hymn of Demeter in the sixth century before Christ.

The Christian disciplina arcana also evoked the reverence of divine truth. Further there was the consciousness that the Christian teaching is only intelligible to such who are enlightened by the grace of God and that it comes to others as foolishness and absurdity. However, for Christians awe was not the sole motive. Love was a factor also. One does not speak to every one about the things and people one loves. The symbols of the catacombs are evidence of this love of Christians. What appeared to the heathen as only an idyllic scene of a shepherd with a sheep on his shoulder signified to a Christian his salvation, the real good shepherd who had triumphed over the hellish wolf with the pledge of his blood. Where the insensitive eyes of the uninitiated saw only ornaments of birds and fish, there the knowing recognized the deepest and most gracious thoughts of the mystery of salvation. Casel says: "Love speaks in pictures if words are not sufficient to give body to the thought."[63]

Thus the disciplina arcana did not arise from a dogmatic but from a liturgical context. Not in theological doctrine but in the experience of the liturgy does the soul directly touch God. The loving reverence before the holy is the ground of holy silence.[64]

(3) Greek philosophy represented in a certain sense the refined conscience of the Greek people. It was not developed in rationalistic opposition to folk religion but in the idealistic school it sought to refine and deepen the intuition of the people. It took possession of the idea of mystical silence. In this transfer the religious use of silence received an ethical and dogmatic grounding and deepening. The mysteries in this higher sense are not the ritual celebration of secret religious societies, but the divine truths which man does not reach through mere understanding. Sustained by these divine truths, man experiences and makes contact with them in his innermost depths. It is not ritual purity which is required but "a pure heart." It is a question of spiritual detachment from worldly and material things. The true mystic is the one stamped with divine wisdom in his depths; the profane is the one who lacks the inner sense for the highest knowledge. The truth need not be protected by external punishments; it protects itself. For the profane person it is a concealed treasure whose worth he does not know, which he ridicules and laughs at, while it is highest rapture for the initiated. It does not require an external discipline of silence, and if philosophers and theologians sometimes give a command of secrecy, they do not want to enjoin by that so much an external rule of conduct as to represent the mystic worth of their doctrine. The spiritual mysteries will develop in time into religion in the higher purified sense.

This briefly was the meaning and purpose of the mystical silence of the philosophers which greatly differed among the schools. It resembled the notion of mystery in the original sense in so far as it was bound by rules of external silence. But this silence was understood before long in a purely spiritual sense. What happened was that mystical secrecy fused with silence, and both gradually developed into contemplation. In the beginning the mysteries were urged forward under noise and talk. But if holy dramas were performed, soon a powerful inner trembling of the viewer was displayed. This passed over into a reverent silence. It was logical for the philosophers to take this silence and give it a deeper meaning. This development began among the old Pythagoreans whose novices had to observe five years of complete silence before they were allowed to the higher levels of knowledge.

According to the philosophers there is no greater human intellectual activity than the knowledge of divine truth coming from enlightenment from above. Spiritual subjects are hidden; the God above dwells in an inaccessible region of silence. Whoever wishes to arrive at mystical knowledge must keep silent so that the divine secret will reveal itself to him in silence.[65] The senses must be silent so that the understanding can come to words. The understanding must be silent in as much as it is contaminated with the worldly and materialistic. Casel says that only the pure spirit, the logos, should be active. A holy chaos lies beneath the contemplative spirit; a holy stillness of the sea encircles the forces of the soul. Man goes out of himself into a higher world. He is in "ecstasy." In this darkness the divine light reveals itself to him.

Silence is the way to contemplation. There the knowledge of God is the highest token of esteem of God and silence is the purest prayer and the highest offering. "Through pure silence we reverence God," said Apollonius of Tyana. Silence has found its deepest anchorage in mysticism and religion. It is now not a negative concept but a highest possible worth. Silence and the completion of the knowledge of God belong together.

Christianity has appropriated this notion of silence to the degree that it is wholesome and upright. It has taken it over and made use of it in its mysticism. From this comes the emphasis on silence among the monks. Casel gives two examples. Diadochos, bishop of Photike, wrote in his Capita gnostica: "Where there is riches of divine knowledge there is no speaking. For the soul is drunk on the love of God and wants to enjoy the majesty of the Lord in silence."[66] The other example is from St. Benedict: since the riches of the divine knowledge cause silence, the perfect student should only speak of holy subjects seldom. The Greek, Diadochos, gives the mystical basis for this practical rule according to Roman art. Benedict confined himself to practical morality which is the best foundation for the higher mystical life of prayer. However, this law was more than merely ascetical. It also had a mystical meaning. While Benedict said that only seldom should permission to speak be given, he did not forbid it absolutely. But it must be a speaking which does not conflict with silence. Here again there is a parallel with the pagan Greeks. They said that there is a speaking which does not contaminate one with the worldly, a silence that rises out of the pure Spirit. The offering in spirit is changed to praise which speaks with silent voice to the spirit removed from the sensual. This speaking springs from silence.

The Church has deepened this notion. On the Sunday within the octave of Christmas the Introit sings: "When all is deepest silence lay and the night had reached the middle of its course, then came the almighty Word, O Lord, from his kingly throne from heaven." The text comes from Wisdom 18 and describes the descent of the angel of destruction into Egypt. In Christmas time it suggests the first hearing on the holy night when Christ was born. However, the contrast of silence and the word has a deeper meaning. It shows that the divine Logos can only appear when all is silent. It is the deep night when the mind is silent and the soul is opened.

Silence is the preparation for the divine Logos and in this spirit Ignatius of Antioch calls Christ the Logos who arises out of silence.[67] One such voice from God arising from the silence of contemplation is the liturgy. The whole liturgy is the Word of God sprung from silence. Thus St. Paul says to the Ephesians (5:19): "Speak to one another in psalms, hymns, and sacred songs. Sing and chant to the Lord in your hearts."

Finally, Casel gives a novel but benign interpretation of the Pauline injunction that women be quiet in Church. It means in the deepest sense that they are keepers of the fire of contemplation.

Casel utilized his theology of sacred silence to justify the maintenance of the Latin language in the Roman rite. He says that the form of the liturgy helps to protect its mystery character.[68] This is especially true in regard to the Latin language. Casel believed that there was such a thing as a sacral language. Since the liturgy is primarily worship of God, it needs the veil of an ancient language to give it an other-worldly atmosphere. The raising of the soul to God is helped not hindered by an ancient language. The liturgy is not for the instruction of the mind but for the inner experience of the supernatural. This secret silence which lies at the basis of the use of an ancient language speaks more of the holiness of God than any instruction. Old languages have a power and worth through their objective and festive unintelligibility that living languages do not have.

About Latin in the liturgy Casel says:

> The second purpose of the liturgy....the cure of souls, is not hindered by the ancient langauge, but rather it is furthered. For it is not correction of the understanding or development of the will that the mysteries strive for first of all, bur rather an inner experience of the divine, supernatural life. The sacred, however, first affects not the understanding or the rational will, but the soul. The mysterious silence which lies, finally, also in the use of a strange language, speaks more eloquently of the holiness of God than the most forceful instruction. Moreover, it is precisely in his worship that man attempts to overcome his everyday existence; he involuntarily strives when he speaks either of God or to God, to use exalted language which otherwise does not enter into his mouth. The ancient langauges already have as their inherent characteristic, and now also through their objective, solemn changelessness, a strength and dignity which is not attained by any living language. So the ancient languages are especially suitable as a sacred language---a reflection of timeless eternity streams through them onto the worship-action.[69]

Whether one agrees with Casel's concrete application of his understanding of liturgical silence, it must be admitted that silence is not a negative concept for him. It is a highest positive value. He says: "Schweigen und die Fülle der Gottvereinigung sind eins."[70]

Silence in the liturgy: Otto

In his essay on silent worship[71] Otto says that devotional silence has a three-fold character: (1) the numinous silence of sacrament, (2) the silence of waiting and (3) the silence of union and fellowship.

(1) Silence is first of all an expression of the numinous. In *Religious Essays*[72] while discussing the Wholly Other and the absolute, Otto refers to his work in regard to the religion of India. He says that it was not speculative inquiry about the absoluteness of Brahman that led to the recognition of his nature as the *āšcaryam*, the Wholly Other, but all that preceded such speculation. This is a real emotion and those who recognize it in pure feeling, that is, without understanding and concept, practice silence.

> And this silence is not mere dumbness of stupefied awe in the presence of the unspeakable; it is *blessed* silence. For the unspeakable is unspeakably beatifying, it is *fascinans*. So rich is its content of blessedness that all other values are shed. But the nature of its content can only be felt, not expressed: therefore "let him who is wise attempt to add no word."[73]

Silence, along with darkness, is for Otto a direct, although negative, method of expressing the numinous. Art, even music, can only express the holy indirectly. He says:

> Even the most consummate Mass-music can only give utterance to the holiest, most numinous moment in the Mass---the moment of transubstantiation--by sinking into stillness: no mere momentary pause, but an absolute cessation of sound long enough for us to hear the silence itself; and no devotional moment in the whole Mass approximates in impressiveness to this keeping silence before the Lord.[74]

Otto refers to Bach, Mendelssohn, and Thomas Luiz to show how the *mysterium* is expressed by way of intimation rather than by forthright utterance, less by the music itself than by the way the music is restrained and repressed.

Impressive moments of silence were known in the worship of Israel. Otto quotes Habakkuk 2:20: "Yahweh is in his holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before him." They are culminating sacramental points in the worship. They are the moments when God is experienced as *numen* praesens. Silence is "a spontaneous reaction to the feeling of the actual numen praesens."[75] What was previously only longed for now becomes a living reality. It is the experience of the transcendent in the Lord's visitation of his people. Such moments are sacramental. This is sacramental silence. "It was found in the forms of worship of ancient Israel, and is found today in the Roman Mass, in the moment of 'transubstantiation!...The solemn observance of silence became a sacrament."[76]

(2) Silence can be a waiting upon God as well as a direct numinous experience. This silence of waiting is other than sacramental silence. It entails inward concentration and detachment from outward distractions. This prepares the soul so that it may become an instrument of God. Silence is not dumbness before God; it is awaiting his coming. It is an expectation of the Spirit and its message. This kind of silence passes over naturally into the first or sacramental kind.

Silent worship may be completely wordless, and the worshippers part without any audible exhortation or thanksgiving. The presence of God can be palpable without a word spoken. This is the kind of silence characteristic of Quaker assemblies. It is a silence which is also sacramental. Otto considered Quaker worship as "the most spiritual form of divine service which has ever been practiced, and contains an element which no form of service ought to be without."[77]

In his preface to L. Violet Hodgkin's Schweigender Dienst[78] Otto praises the Friends for their concern and work in the areas of social ethics and reform such as prison reforms, the fighting of slavery and the improvement of the proletariat, the building up and improvement of oppressed and neglected classes, the promotion of popular education, the fostering of the rights of all peoples, the fearless opposition of war to the point of mass-martyrdom, the care of peace and the redemption of estranged mankind, and the tireless help and concern for the thousands of the needy. The Quakers do this to weave a spiritual band of understanding and communal willing in place of making war-rivalry among all peoples, both among the populous classes and among the religious communities. Then Otto adds:

> These men and women of untiring activity, are on the other side and in the ground of their being men of the spirit of interiority, even indeed, mystics. And their activity issues from a possession of interiority which they foster and always again renew through a sacrament that is given to them from the days of their origin: the sacrament of the silent worship. All the sacraments of the Church, the seven of the Catholics and the two of the Protestants and the half-sacramental setting of cult and composition of forms have this bold novelty stripped off. However, that which the sacrament should effect, the immediate presence and grasping (realization) of the spiritual, they wanted to have better than before and they believed to have found better in that, which unsought and unconstructed, developed of itself in their communities in "silent worship," in the _Schweigende Dienst_. It is today as much in vogue among them as it was in their beginnings.[79]

(3) The purpose of silence is the achievement of unity or fellowship and communion. This third kind of silence is the completion of the other two. Otto finds this kind of silence in the Quaker worship also. He considers Quaker worship to be communion in two senses: (a) fellowship of the individual with the invisible present Reality, and (b) the mystical union of many individuals with one another. He says:

> The congregations, which are very small, intimate trusted brotherhoods, come together in a plain assembly room, in order to experience in united silence three things: the inner community of the spirit coming from the depth, the waiting for the breaking in of the spirit in festive speech or prayer and finally the quiet rest without words in the presence of the Highest and his gracing, enlightening and strengthening communion.[80]

Otto also finds this third kind of silence in a form of worship opposite to that of the Quakers: the Roman Catholic liturgy.

> Both are solemn religious observances of a numinous and sacramental character, both are communion, both exhibit alike an inner straining not only "to realize the presence" of God, but to attain to a degree of oneness with Him.[81]

Turning to the point of how this three-fold kind of silence might be utilized to revitalize Protestant worship Otto observes that silent worship as the Quakers practice it is not possible in the present Protestant Church.[82] But he hoped that some day a circle of self-dedicated enthusiasts would exist in the Church who would have rediscovered the Spirit and its sevenfold gifts.[83]

Nor is the sacramental silence of the Catholic Mass possible in the Protestant Church. For while it is true that the communion service celebrates Christ's passion, the numinous event par excellence, the fullest presence of the divine in history, it is not a mass. As noted in Chapter Three the communion service for Otto was never meant to be a public ceremonial, certainly not a drama performed in the presence of spectators.

> It is a tender mystery, restricted to a fellowship of brothers, pertaining to a special time and hour, and needing particular preparation--in short, something that should be precious and rare...It ought to be withdrawn altogether from the use and wont of everyday and become the most intimate privilege which Christian worship has to offer.[84]

Since these two means are excluded, Otto opts for the practice of making the Protestant service culminate and find its climax in a short period of silence. Hopefully this will be the silence of sacrament, the silent of waiting and also the realization of union. Otto felt that by following the example of the Quakers a silent service could be devised which would have the sacramental quality of the Mass without its ceremonial apparatus and mythology of transubstantiation.

Otto asks where the essence of the sacrament is to be found. "It is the real presence of the transcendent and holy in its very nature in adoration and fellowship, so as to be laid hold of and enjoyed in present possession."[85] Only if a service of worship offers this mystery can it be perfect or give lasting contentment. And because present Protestant services lack this, there are the various High Church stirrings.

But is God not present everywhere? Does the sacramental idea make any sense? Otto answers this rather bluntly when he says:

> that this doctrine of the omnipresence of God---as though by a necessity of His being He must be bound to every time and to every place, like a natural force pervading space---is a frigid invention of metaphysical speculation, entirely without religious import.[86]

He says that the scriptures know nothing of omnipresence. It only knows the God who is where he wills to be, not where he wills not to be. God is an august mystery who comes and goes, has its own time and hour, close or far away.

Otto's answer must be seen in the context of what he is trying to emphasize, namely, the freedom of the numinous to burst forth into one's life. Otto does not wish simply to reduce God's presence to the dynamic workings of nature. Because Otto's statement is one-sided in its emphasis, many see here his denial of the immanent omnipresence of God. But he established in his earlier works, Naturalism and Religion and The Philosophy of Religion, that he did see God working immanently in history. Nor did he take this back in his last works on eschatology and ethics. The middle period of his work, 1915-30, was marked by an emphasis on the experience of the transcendent and this is reflected in his work, The Idea of the Holy, and his liturgical experimentation.

Can any service achieve this special sacramental silence? Otto's answer is that God will choose to come when people sincerely call upon him and prepare themselves for his visitation. This can be done if the liturgy is led by a sensitive liturgist who knows how to conduct the liturgical elements of sermon, song, and prayers and who has a sense of the delicate rhythms of liturgical tension and relaxation and of the greater tension of the difficult work of gathering the human spirit together. To draw minds together and to strengthen devotion are the tasks of the leader. In this way one can experience in sacramental worship and the unifying silence of the sacrament the future of the Lord. This can be done in Protestant liturgies whether Lutheran or Reformed. Otto makes concrete suggestions of how this can be done. Much of this has already been described in detail in Chapter Two, but some of these details are repeated here to show their special relationship to the element of silence.

The first part of the service should terminate in the sermon without any digression. The sermon is followed by a hymn and organ interlude. The announcements furnish a pause for relaxation before the second part of the service.

Otto says of the second part of the service that it

> is both a full and rich adoration offered by the whole congregation, and leads to a sacramental height of devotion which, in a more spiritual wise than that in which the elevated Host figures, yet leads the congregation to the deep and full experience of the "real presence" of God, without which a divine service in the fullest sense cannot be held.[87]

Thus in order that the second part be constructed as an act of great devotion, that it be a sacramental celebration of the nearness of God in silence, it must be compressed in such a way that it has no appendages or terminations during it but has a second liturgical high point which projects even higher than the first (sermon). It must be characterized not by the gradual increasing of tension but by the opposition of high and low moments, by the strong and calm flowing of the feelings.

The prayers should not always be the prayers of the Church but should be especially composed for each celebration, leaving room for either free or fixed prayer. They should be done by presbyter, deacon and congregation. They should be printed, have caesuras, be divided between _Er_ and _Du_ prayers and between singing and speaking. They should not be a long consistorial address to God, but construct a wreath of offerings. Otto says that the ability to pray in such a way is the highest charismatic gift. Where this is lacking, the works of the masters of prayer should be introduced.

The devotion part of the liturgy (second part) begins with a strong tension of the mind: the sung preface and _Sanctus_. The preface has a clear reference to the special character of the specific celebration and this colors the following prayer. In this latter prayer the thought flows more still and easily. The mind expands and relaxes temporarily because the sung prayer gives way to the spoken. Prayer, intercession and thanksgiving take a while. Then, the line of devotion rises quickly. Diversities sink behind and the prayer ends in pure devotion, the Spirit gathering everything together. In other words, the prayer climaxes in the sacramental epiclesis evoking the eternal in this place at this time by appealing to God's promise: "The Lord is near to all, who call on him in earnest" (Psalm 145:18). The pronouncement of leader is: "The Lord is in his holy temples. All the world is still before him." The congregation kneels and silence reigns until the bell has sturck three strokes three times.

Such silence is developed for the unpracticed by ceasing from all words and external things and by speaking in one's interior the prayer of giving oneself to the presence. Gradually, the practice of silence increases. Otto says that inner silence is added to external silence. Inner silence means the still of the soul with all its powers, the complete keeping of the Sabbath, the quiet sinking into the eternal ground, and the high wonder of unity itself.

When the bell has struck the last time, the congregation rises and in the full presence of God it offers its holiest gift: The Lord's Prayer. The minister sings it and the congregation closes it with the doxology and the hymn, "Ich hab von ferne, Herr, deinen Thron erblickt."[88] This concludes the sacrament. The entire liturgy now ends quickly with the postcommunion, the Benedicamus, the blessing and a congregational hymn.

This structure is what Otto employed in his experimental liturgies at St. Jost as described in Chapter Two. Referring to the St. Jost liturgy Otto says:

> The service regularly includes this culmination of meditative collective silence in which the content of the entire service and the meaning of the preceding prayers are concentrated and condensed.[89]

For Otto the liturgy comes to fulfillment in rest, not activity.

The success of Otto's St. Jost liturgy has been attested to by Dr. Paula Schaefer in Chapter One. Otto also recounts how once a Catholic priest converted to Protestantism told him that Otto's service was really the mass. Otto said the priest was mistaken because

> the mass is a sacrificial act of one priest, whereas it is the congregation that performs the act here, and the preacher is merely their mouthpiece.[90]

But Otto did acknowledge that the priest was correct in that the St. Jost liturgy ended in a "sacramental height."

Nor was Otto's use of silence in the liturgy tested only at St. Jost. In Die Christliche Welt Otto printed an example of the silent worship in a service for Christmas vespers. It was constructed and used by Pastor Zeuschner in Leipzig-Connewitz. The pastor wrote that the service with its silence made an unusual impression on about a thousand visitors at his worship.

In his commentary on this service after making some small rubrical suggestions, Otto notes that the congregation should not stand during the whole prayer service, especially not during the silent service. For both an interior union is necessary which one can only maintain for a long time in a relaxed position. He recommends sitting or kneeling.[91]

The offering of the Lord's Prayer should exalt the congregation and the use of incense might help achieve this effect. Otto notes that in certain Lutheran circles there is still found the use of incense. Where this is done, this beautiful practice should be maintained. He says that its present nonsensical form should be improved. Instead of the sacristan or the deacon walking through the Church to spread the aroma among the congregation, the incense should accompany the highest act of prayer, the Lord's Prayer, so that it is the accompanying, expressive action of increased devotion. It should be done before the altar by the deacon standing beside the minister.[92]

Rudolf Otto was highly criticized for his use of silence in the

Protestant liturgy. The main criticism was that Otto was acting contrary to Reformation and biblical principles. Paquier says:

> Rudolf Otto wanted to make of the cultic silence a sort of sacrament. We must be cautious about following him on a dangerous and slippery path which is without biblical justification. However, there is what we might call a liturgical silence, which is a silence of waiting. In this momentous suspension of all exterior activity, in the absence of all articulated words, the unmoving and sovereign majesty of the Eternal and the nothingness of the creature are reflected.[93]

And as was pointed out in Chapter One Robert Will found fault with Otto's services because they gave the impression that the soul is united with God only in the second half, that the liturgy of the Word does not communicate the presence of God as much as the contemplative part.

The import of these criticisms is that because Otto saw silence as the climax of the service and as the moment of union with the Wholly Other, he was accused of magically trying to evoke divinity on the spot. My own opinion is that if one reads only The Idea of the Holy and the Religious Essays, this criticism appears to be true. But as already noted, in the light of Otto's total work, it cannot be maintained that he viewed God's presence as an isolated breaking in of the transcendent. And what has already been said about the history of salvation and eschatology in Chapter Three bears this out.

As regards Christ's presence in the liturgy, Otto's thought was dominated by the scriptural text: "Where two or three are gather in my name, there I am in the midst of them." This implies Christ's presence in the whole liturgical assembly, not simply at some isolated moment. This, together with Otto's view of God's presence as seen in his entire work as well as the way he positioned silence in his experimental liturgies, indicates that Otto saw the presence of God as something that could be prepared for but not manipulated.

Silence and the Liturgy: Casel and Otto

1. The way each man approached the notion of silence in the liturgy reflects his general theological methodology. Both find that the place of silence in the liturgy arises from experience rather than theological considerations. For both silence is not a negative thing but a positive value.

2. Casel saw the importance of silence in terms of history and tradition, both pagan and Christian. Silence in Greek philosophy and pagan rites is an analogate to silence in the Christian liturgy. Otto's concern for silence in Christian worship sprung from his investigations in religious experience and the history of religions. His experience of silence in non-Christian religions such as those of India as well as that of Christian denominations such as that of the Quakers and the Roman Catholics influenced the importance and shape of silence in his own experimental liturgies.

3. Both Casel and Otto speak of sacred silence as three-fold. While the divisions of silence by each man do not match each other perfectly, they are definitely analogous.

Casel:	Otto:
Liturgical silence	Sacramental silence
Mystical silence	Silence of waiting
Contemplative silence	Silence of union and fellowship

4. Casel's liturgical silence is the silence in the liturgical service which allows the worshipper to be filled with Godly thoughts. Otto's sacramental silence is a liturgical expression of the numinous. In both there is the inbreaking of the transcendent into the liturgical assembly, the minds of the worshippers being filled with divinity in holy silence.

5. Casel's mystical silence is basically a concealment of holy things from the profane and uninitiated. Otto's silence of waiting is a detachment from outer distraction. Both are preparations for the first kind of silence, the sacramental silence of the liturgy. For Casel one must be initiated into the Christian rites before one can experience them. For Otto one must prepare for the inbreaking of the numinous by a Quaker-type of silent waiting.

6. Casel's contemplative silence sees silence as the way to contemplation. The purpose of silence is contemplation. Otto's silence of union and fellowship is the completion of the sacramental silence and the silence of waiting. Both see the third kind as the fulfillment of the other two. For Casel Christ comes in holy contemplation and for Otto the transcendent comes in union and fellowship.

7. These two theologians differed greatly on the level of practical application. Casel concentrated on the theological justification for the moments of contemplation already found in the Roman liturgy of his time, e.g., the use of the Latin language. He was not concerned to make changes in the liturgy to allow for more silence. On the contrary, Otto was mainly preoccupied in his liturgical experimentation to orchestrate the elements to allow silence to produce the desired effects. He especially utilized the practice of tension and relaxation for this purpose. For Casel contemplation would infuse new life into the ceremonies of Roman Catholic worship. For Otto they must be stripped away to allow for contemplation to take place.

The liturgical mystery: Casel

In order to situate Casel's main contribution to liturgical theology, it is necessary to review the notion of mystery theology in general. For the most part the Mysterientheorie that is accepted by contemporary theologians is identical with Casel's own position. The differences would be found in an individual theologian's minor qualifications. What follows is a brief summary of the mystery theology that applies equally to Casel and any of the other mystery theologians such as Edward Schillebeeckx, o.p.

The theology of mysteries is an attempt to explain the saving work of God by means of the concept, "mystery."[94] Here mystery means more than a truth beyond reason. It is more than revelation addressed to the mind. It is divine reality actually communicated to man and present in the history of salvation. God reveals himself by giving himself. Mystery as doctrinal statement is secondary and is an attempt to express the significance of divine reality.

These are levels of meaning of mystery. Ultimately, it means God himself as inaccessible to man as man. It further means the mystery, Christ, in whom God has revealed himself and communicated his love. Christ is the divine reality present in history. While the mystery of Christ is one, it is also plural referring to the mysteries of the chief elements of his life: birth, passion, ressurection, and exaltation. As one these mysteries or saving events of Christ are described as the transitus Christi. This is Christ's return to the Father. The mystery of Christ stretches from the incarnation to the parousia with the climax being the death and resurrection. In this transitus man in Christ passed from death to life, from corruption and suffering to glory.

What was done in Christ must be done in man. One must be taken up into the movement of Christ. If one is to share in his death and resurrection, one must make contact with the mystery of Christ. Since the mystery is historical, it must be made present for man so he can participate in it. It is the liturgy that makes this mystery present. The mystery Christ becomes present sacramentally. The symbolic activity of the liturgy reactualizes it so that man can join himself to it and achieve salvation.

The liturgy is a further level of the mystery. It is the symbolic re-enactment of the mystery of Christ which makes present the unrepeatable mystery itself. This approach sees man becoming a Christian when he shares in the very saving activity of Christ and not just when he is the recipient of the grace of Christ. One does not merely receive grace from the saving work of Christ but one also enters into the work itself. One makes contact not only with Christ and his grace, but also with his saving actions. And one does this in the liturgy which makes these acts present.

But how is it possible that saving actions which were once events in the historical order can be made present again? In the liturgy what was done in Christ is done in man by the action of Christ. Man is transferred from the order and dynamism of this world into the order of the resurrection and dynamism of the Spirit. In other words, the mystery of Christ is reproduced in man. The transitus Christi takes place in man. So in baptism one rises again with Christ. It is the same mystery with the differences called for by the difference between Christ and man himself. It is the same with the other acts of the liturgy.

The mystery of salvation is accomplished through the actions of the glorified Christ. All that is achieved in man is due to the activity of the Risen Christ. But what is the relationship of the unique events of Christ's life, death and resurrection? Do they only indirectly affect one in the sense that through them Christ is now in a new existence? In that case they would not be present in the liturgy but only in their reproduction in man. Is there some sense in which one can speak of this once for all historical event being present in the liturgy without involving any kind of repetition?

Referring to Thomas Aquinas' position that the events of Christ were causes of what takes place in man, Charles Davis says:

> He did not mean only that our resurrection is due to the action of the risen Christ now reigning in glory, but that our resurrection is effected by the causal influence exerted by the event itself of Christ's resurrection...The mysteries that constitute the historical work of redemption exert on us here and now in the liturgy a power through which the work of redemption is accomplished in us.[95]

How is it possible that what belongs to a given time and place can be operative in men in another time and place? It is possible because the principal cause is always God. God is immediately present and his action is the principal factor involved. He establishes the causal relation between the work of Christ and ourselves. He acts on us through the historical work of Christ. In this sense the saving acts of Christ are present in the liturgy. The Risen Christ is present in the liturgy because he acts upon the worshipper. It is through him that God establishes his contact between man and Christ's historical work. Since these historical works act upon one, they are present in the liturgy. The death and resurrection of Christ are present because they exert a causal influence on those participating in worship. The total mystery of Christ is present in the liturgy in this way.

The historical work of Christ can only be present in a dynamic way. The reality of these historical events on the deepest level transcend history. This deepest level of reality is the enduring love of Christ. It is this that gave redemptive value to all the events of the _transitus_. And the historical events are of unique importance because these events of the historical Christ formed the expression of the act of love which still exists in the Risen Christ. For this reason they find a sacramental mode of expression in the liturgy. Davis says: "Our sacramental life is an image of the life of Christ, and we are conformed to Christ in the mystery of his transitus."[96]

Turning to Casel it is helpful first to get a brief view of how mystery fits into his theological perspective. The notion of mystery is beyond all question the central concept in his thought.[97] It refers not only to liturgy, especially sacramental liturgy, but much more it embraces the whole world-happening (_Weltgeschehen_). Mystery is something concealed, inaccessible to human understanding. But mystery is not an abstract teaching, but a spiritual reality which is revealed through revelation, although surpassing human intelligence. In regard to the Pauline use of μυστήριον, Casel made three distinctions: (1) God in his trinitarian life, (2) Jesus Christ in his salvific actions, and (3) the liturgy as mystery-cult in which the mystery of God and Christ is made accessible to the believer. Later Casel added "the mystery of the Church."

Mystery is a key word for Casel since creation and salvation history are closely related. In the center is the Christ-mystery by which the mystery of God is made clear to us and from which the liturgy gets its meaning. The Christ-mystery is not just Christ in his soteriological aspect, his dimension as the *Logos*, but in his incarnate situation. This mystery unites God and man, grace and nature, death and life, suffering and glorification. It is always concerned with the *transitus Christi*, the Paschal Mystery. Casel's theology was not an unrealistic theology of glory because he felt the world for the most part was under the sway of the power of Satan. Both the cross and glorification, the one leading to the other, are part of life in Christ.

It is by means of the sacrament that the Christ-mystery becomes for us the saving mystery.[98] Thus the liturgy becomes the cultic action in which the fact of salvation becomes present in the rite.[99] When the congregation performs the rite, it participates in this salvation and so obtains salvation. Casel, then, defined liturgy as anamnesis, as cultic commemoration. This kind of effective commemoration is of prime importance. It is not mere remembrance or recall of the irretrievable past, but means a real contact with the original reality of God by means of signs.

Symbol is a structural concept in Casel's theology. It is not just a sign referring to something else or calling something to mind. It is a representation in which the thing represented is truly present in such a way as to be made accessible. This kind of symbol communicates the reality of salvation to the liturgical community. The liturgical participant makes his own the purpose of the Savior. He becomes one with him and wins for himself a participation in salvation. This same intuition is found in pagan religions according to Casel. In this sense he considered the Christian mystery as the fulfillment of the pagan mysteries. The so-called συν-expressions from the synoptics and Paul also seem to confirm this. The realization of salvation is achieved in the providential communion between Christ and the believer on the grounds of the primordial solidarity between the redeemer and the redeemed. For this reason one can speak of the Church and the sacramental reality as the participation in the death and resurrection of Christ. Here the perspective of the history of salvation comes in full view.

Casel bases his position on his understanding of the *mysterium* in St. Paul: a revelation of God to man through incarnate actions full of life and power and through which man can go to God, the return of the redeemed Christian to the eternal Father through the offering of full submission. The central point of Christianity is the Paschal Mystery, the *transitus Christi*, the God become man for our redemption returning to the Father. The Christian Passover is the offering of the Son of God on the cross and his resurrection to glory - the offering of the Church as a consequence and in the power of the crucified Lord and the saving union with God.[100]

What follows is a more detailed sketch of Casel's mystery theology.[101]

I. The Content of the Mystery

1. It is God himself as he exists in himself and in the things that he made, the holy unapproachable one.

> First of all it is God considered in Himself, as the infinitely distant, holy, unapproachable one, to whom no man may draw near and live: ....And this all holy one reveals his mystery, comes down to his creatures and reveals himself to them; yet once again, in mysterio, that is to say, in a revelation of grace, to those whom he has chosen, the humble, the pure of heart, not to the proud and self-important.[102]

2. It is Christ himself, not just the person of Christ but Christ performing his salvific actions, especially the death, resurrection and ascension. Christ both is and reveals the mystery. He is the revelation of mystery in the first sense.

> God's coming in the flesh fulfilled and more than fulfilled all longing and all promise; this event gave the word mysterium a new and deepened meaning. For St. Paul mysterion is the marvellous revelation of God in Christ...In the Son of God made man and crucified we look upon the mystery of God which was hidden before the ages but through Christ is made known and revealed to the ecclesia, the body of those whom he has called.[103]

And:

> The deeds of his lowliness, above all his sacrificial death on the cross, are mysteries because God shows himself through them in a fashion which surpasses any human measurement. Above all else, his resurrection and exaltation are mysteries because God's glory is shown through them in the human person of Jesus.[104]

Casel calls Christ the Urmysterium.[105]

3. It is the salvific activity of Christ in the Church and the sacraments.

> Thus the mysterium acquires a third sense, which, however, is most intimately connected with the first two; since Chirst is no longer visible among us, in St. Leo the Great's words, "What was visible in the Lord has passed over into the mysteries" (Sermo 74, 2, P. L. 54, 398 A), we meet his person, his saving deeds, the workings of his grace in the mysteries of his worship.[106]

This third sense of mysterium, the operative one for Casel's understanding of the liturgy, can be furthered detailed.

(a) The liturgical mystery possesses a sacramental mode of being. It means making present again by a cultic action.

> As a participation in the life and truth of God, this divine reality infinitely surpasses all abstract thinking. It could not be encompassed in a doctrine; it had to find expression in symbols. Cultic symbols, then, are necessary modes of expression; they do not have a purely pedagogical value, but are bearers of divine salvation. Thus the mystery of Christ finds its necessary incarnation in the mystery of worship.[107]

(b) The content of the cultic actions of the Church is not just the power of the effect of Christ's saving deeds, but these very deeds themselves. It is the presence of historic-non-recurring actions of salvation, not of some eternal, extra-temporal salvific will, nor of an event in heaven.

> The saving acts, historically past, receive in the mysteries of cult an objective and real representation. In effect it is not a simple intentional re-actualization which is produced in the cultic celebration; the saving acts are truly set forth anew in the present. The saving acts--the incarnation, death, resurrection, to cite only the most important--are the content and the proper object of the sacraments; they constitute the internal reality of the mysteries of cult.[108]

(c) Historical actions in their historical trappings are not made present, but the reality which lies behind the historical fact.

> The mystery of cult, in so far as it is an image...,has the power to distill out of the historic event the essential of the saving act, which is precisely its eternal significance of salvation, and to present it and set it forth in the symbol.[109]

(d) The Lord is not separated from his mysteries but is present and active within them. The presence of the Risen Christ is not properly speaking the reality made present in the liturgy but is the preliminary condition making possible the presence of what is essential, the saving acts of Christ. The presence in mystery does not refer to personal presence and so must be distinguished from the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The very special situation it considers is the actualization of a certain historical event of salvation in such wise as to maintain the numerical identity with the original act as well as with its life-giving efficacy.

> The pneumatic presence of Christ is in the strictest possible relation to his saving historical act, it makes the act spiritually present and causes its fruit of grace to pass into the Church.[110]

(e) There is only one mystery although birth, death and resurrection are events different from each other. It is the substance of this mystery in its totality that is rendered present in the cultic acts. And the substance of the liturgical mystery is the transitus Christi, the Paschal Mystery. The Christian mystery is:

> the transitus, the passage of death to life, through the cross to the resurrection, which was once for all accomplished in Christ. The Mystery, therefore, is an action; and it is an action which took place in the past and can never be repeated, because it is perfect. The mystery is the Cross of Jesus, the Cross seen primarily as an accomplishment fulfilling His own human history and the sacred history of God's people and, finally, the whole history of mankind which has been disrupted by the Fall but which, by the Cross, has been reconstituted and brought to an unutterably glorious conclusion by God himself. The Mystery is, then, the Cross seen also in the fullness of its wonderful fecundity, that, as including the resurrection of Christ, His ascension into glory, and, through the Christ who has now Himself become Pneuma, life-giving Spirit, the radiance of all the wonderful gifts which He has given to man.[111]

More specifically concerning the mass Casel says:

> If the Mass is the real memorial of the sacrifice offered by Christ for the redemption of men, it is essentially logical that it be a memorial of all the phases of the saving work of the Lord; but all is there under the aspect of sacrifice and that is why the Passion is at the centre, as the active offering of sacrifice.[112]

(f) Since the Paschal Mystery is the central mystery, Easter is the feast. But a liturgy adequate to the whole mystery of salvation requires a liturgical year and liturgical feasts. Casel says of the essence of the liturgical feast:

> Its characteristic is that the divine life descends effectively somehow into the midst of those who take part in the religious solemnity. This is not a simple remembrance, it involves also a presence.
>
> God has appeared among those who serve him in celebration. They have called to him--hear, come, show yourself, be present--and he has come, he has shown himself, he is present...He is not merely there, he has come to act, to help, to overcome in suffering, just as in his first epiphany he suffered, struggled, conquered. But his disciples in worship, act with him because he is among them.[113]

The Christian liturgy in its totality participates in the sacramentalism inherent in the whole life of the Church in time. "The time of the Church will consequently be characterized by the active presence of the paschal mystery in time."[114] There will be present in every liturgical celebration the presence of the mystery of God communicated to men in Jesus Christ. Each liturgy celebrates the real presence of Jesus who came at the end of a period of preparation, the Paschal Mystery now reconciling men to God in the Church, and the prophecy of the kingdom inaugurated in sacramental signs and to be manifested fully in the Parousia.[115]

(g) The saving action of Christ is not limited to the sacraments. It is communicated by the Word of God. Casel says that one should not make too great a distinction between the presence of Christ in the divine office and the Eucharist. He admits a difference but blames late Scholasticism for seeing almost nothing in the mass but the real presence as the effect of transubstantiation. It made too little of Christ's saving action in the Word. For the ancient Church there was only one saving action of Christ and this was the ground for the entire liturgy, both Word and sacrament. Christ is not divided. Even blessings and consecration participate in and show forth the mystery of Christ.[116]

In a brief summary, a liturgical mystery for Casel is a sacred and ritual action in which a redeeming work in the past is made present according to a fixed rite. In performing this sacred rite, the worshipping community enters into participation in the redeeming event which is evoked and so gains its own salvation.

II. How the saving acts of Christ are rendered present

The mystery of Christ is incarnated in the mystery of worship which are actions performed both by man and by Christ. Salvation becomes visible because the sacramental symbol is visible. The content of the cultic mystery is present as soon as the sign is set forth because there is a necessary connection between the sacramental process and the incarnation. The sacraments are images of Christ, full of the reality of his being and his activity. "What can be said of Christ as an image of the Father can be said in an analogous way of the sacraments."[117] Thus the saving work of Christ is objectively present in the sacraments and it exists before the effect itself.

Past historical events can only be rendered present again through the sacramental mode of existence which can only be understood in faith. Just as the mystery of Christ's redemptive work is *sui generis* because it is both supernatural and yet accomplished in time, so the sacramental mode of existence is different from every natural way of existing. The sacramental mode of existence is not the same as the natural or historical way of existing. The exterior rites are performed in time but the content of these cultic actions does not exist in time.

There is no repetition of Christ's saving act. The act of Christ is one because it is an eternal, supernatural, transtemporal mystery. There is no before and after. "It is always one and the same reality; only the mode of the presence and the way it is manifest differs."[118] Odo Casel did not attempt to explain metaphysically how the mystery of Christ is sacramentally present in the liturgy. It was for him a matter of understanding what a sacrament is and how it differs from other signs.

III. Why Christ and his saving work must be present in the sacraments.

A man only becomes a Christian by participation in the saving activity of Christ. Neither the presence of the person of Christ, not the presence of the divine life in him, nor the mere presence of the body and the blood are enough. The redeeming work itself must be present. Man's participation in the mystery of salvation demands a real and mystical participation in the life and death of Christ which must be present in the sacramental act.

> The saving acts of Christ are so necessary to the Christian that he cannot be a true Christian unless he lives them after and with Christ. It is not the teaching of Christ that makes the Christian, it is not the simple application of his grace, it is the total identification with the person of Christ obtained in reliving his life. The community of love, of life, of being is acquired through union in suffering and in activity.[119]

The following quotation is an epitome of Casel's sacramental theology.

> In sum, for Dom Casel the sacraments are the point of contact for the saving work of Christ and the Christian who must participate in this saving work, live these saving acts with Christ, if he is himself to be saved. The substance of the saving work of Christ is really

objectively present in the sacraments, but *in mysterio*, in a way that is mysterious to us. This is the central insight of Dom Casel.[120]

IV Commendable points in Casel

1. Casel reacted against the Scholastic "from symbol to dialectic" mentality that tended to reduce human intelligence to the logical, that dispensed with the necessity of the symbolic and poetic and that introduced the disastrous dichotomy between sacramental and liturgical theology.

> We live in an age which, after a long period of devotion to abstract intellectualism with its excessive evolution of reason, is beginning once more to think in symbols, to make use of the ways in which divine truth has taken form in nature, art, and culture. For us it is doubly necessary to bring to memory those periods of history when symbolic thinking was in full flower.[121]

Gerhard Fittkau says of Casel:

> With the sureness of an intuitive empathy with the spirit of the early Christian life and understanding of faith, Odo Casel sought to overcome the destructive proclivity to a didactic abstraction of the Christian faith and Redemptive Deeds in later theology and again to evoke the Christian vision of a vital unity of the totality of Christian belief.[122]

Casel did not construct a highly conceptualized sacramental theology. His main concern was to restore to theological currency the Patristic idea that the sacraments are the continuation of the incarnate life of Christ and their efficacy is due to the presence of Christ's work of redemption in them. For this reason he assailed Scholastic theology for its excessively didactic character.[123]

2. Casel reacted against viewing the sacraments as instruments of salvation and mere means of grace.

> The mystery is not the particular application of the graces which derive from the past salvific action of Christ; it presents the reality of the salvific work in a sacramental manner, and from this reality the effect flows.[124]

Berkouwer says of Casel:

> At its core, Casel's view is a reaction to the so-called doctrine of the effect, which says that Christ's work is important to us now only in its effect. Casel, however, maintains that the Passio Christi is itself actually present, not in the historical sense, but in mysterio. The historical redemptive event does not merely send out its radiating influence, but is really present in mysterio.[125]

3. Casel reacted against limiting redemption to the passion and the cross. Christ in all his salvific actions is present in the liturgy. This is obvious from what was said regarding the content of the mystery.

4. Casel emphasized the liturgical realism of the ritual action. The Risen Christ is truly connected with his historical redemptive events and the Church is integrated into the mystery of Christ because the mystery of Christ is actually incarnated in the mystery of worship. Worship is the prolongation of Christ's action on earth.

> If the Christian life is not simply a matter of getting graces from Christ but of reliving His mystery and if we do this by celebrating the liturgy, then nothing can take the place of the liturgy or serve as a substitute for our share in it.[126]

5. Casel began the movement in sacramental theology from a logical to a phenomenological consideration. Instead of trying to account for divine reality by means of analogy drawn from creation, it is an attempt to describe the manifestations of the divine in the universe. It is a less totally transcendent approach to God's working of salvation in the world.

6. Casel's position has ecumenical value.[127] E. Iserloh says in his book, Die Eucharistie in der Darstellung des Johannes Eck (1950), that "The mysterium idea as it is being presented today, gives the direction in which an abiding and satisfying answer to the questions posed by the reformers is to be sought."[128] In Vom göttlichen Geheimnis (1936) Bishop Stählin suggests that this liturgical theology with its return to bible and

tradition will offer a wider basis for a theological encounter between divided Christians. And the 1951 Faith and Order Report, Ways of Worship,[129] in preparation for the meeting at Lund (1952), says that the theology of Odo Casel

> contains great possibilities of future development and perhaps opens up the most promising approach to some understanding between the Roman Catholic and non-Roman Churches.[130]

V. Negative criticisms of the Caselian approach[131]

1. The approach is too Platonic because the symbol is seen by Casel as a real image of an object from a higher order of existence. The reality is hidden beneath the veil of the symbol. I agree with this criticism because the sign is too separated from Christ. Signs show forth reality, but even more they are reality incarnated.

2. The presence of Christ is viewed too statically. I consider this criticism valid because the Risen Christ should be seen as dynamic. It is the same Christ present in the mysteries rather than the same action.

3. Many of Casel's expressions are ambiguous, e.g., "Christ suffers in the mystery." Unfortunately, some expressions imply a reactualization of even the historical aspects of the redemptive action, but on close examination this was not Casel's meaning. It is impossible for historical events to be moved backwards and forwards, even in mysterio. Time is not accidental to events and Casel realized this. Although he was afraid of seeing the realism of the mystery-presence reduced, he did not insist on the historical contingencies of the redemptive events. This should be clear from what was said on this point under the content of the mystery (3-c).

4. Casel's theory cannot be reconciled with the Council of Trent.[132] Trent maintained that in the mass Christ is contained in an unbloody manner. Gratsch, one of Casel's critics, claims that Casel says that the unbloody immolation signifies the pneumatic or spiritual mode of being of the sacrifice of the cross in the mass as opposed to its historical bloody character on Calvary. Gratsch objects that the bloody immolation on the cross cannot be present even in a spiritual way. I do not consider Gratsch's criticism serious since he has misunderstood Casel who maintained the identity of the sacrifice, not of the immolation.

5. Many scholars feel that Casel exaggerated the analogy between the pagan mysteries and the Christian mystery. Martimort says that the liturgical actions of the Church deserve to be called mysteries because they assume the active presence in the Church of the mystery of salvation, not because they are analogous to the mystery cults of non-Christian religions.[133] And modern research tends to reject any considerable influence of pagan mysteries on Christian liturgy. Scholarship on pagan cults indicates no precise doctrine on the participation of the mysteries in the divine life or on the intervention of savior-gods.[134]

But Casel did not claim that pagan mysteries exercised a direct influence on Christian worship, much less originate it.[135] The term, mysterium, constituted a fundamental analogy not on the level of reality, but on the level of expression.

> The language of the ancient mysteries was used unhesitatingly to express what she (the Church) possessed; indeed many ancient forms and customs were taken over to enrich and adorn the simplicity of the Christian ritual.[136]

The pagan mysteries were a providential preparation of the Christian mystery.[137] They were what Casel called the Vorschule Christi.[138] He asks that if grace builds on nature why cannot Christ have brought to fulfillment the content of pagan and Greek mysteries. Mysterium is a type common both to paganism and Christianity.

My own opinion is that now that the heat of the battle has cooled, Casel's basic contention that the Christian mystery is a fulfillment of the pre-Christian mystery, can be accepted.

6. Casel overemphasized the inward quality of participation in the mystery. Although the inward is of prime importance in the sence that it is indispensable and presupposed for external worship and although ritual changes alone do not solve worship problems, Casel was out of touch with the pastoral problems of the liturgical movement.[139]

I consider this criticism to be to the point in light of what was already said in the introduction to Casel's thought. For all his emphasis on the realism of the liturgical mystery, his concrete approach to the liturgy lacked a sense of reality. Casel believed that proper forms of the liturgy would develop where there is right understanding. This may be too simplistic.

VI. After Casel

Theological developments in mystery theology after Casel have concentrated either on trying to reconcile his thought with Thomism[140] or on trying to show that it is impossible to bring about such a reconciliation.[141]

E. Schillebeeckx tries to reconcile Casel and Thomas on the basis of the nature of the hypostatic union by which all that Christ's humanity experienced was assumed by the divine person whose acts do not suffer the limitations of duration. In the liturgical mystery there is the actual presence (content of the mystery) of the permanent, transcendent element and the virtual presence of the total historical action. The presence of the purely temporal aspect is achieved by divine power. J. Gaillard writes in reference to Schillebeeckx's thought

> the historical salvific act is thus attained by the mysteries, either in itself as far as its permanent element is concerned, or by divine power as far as its temporal element is concerned. Liturgical mysteries are truly the celebration and manifestation of the historical redeeming act, even though their actual content is only the mysterium i. e., the permanent element and the instrumental power.[142]

Along the same line Neunheuser points out that the mystery presence is a truly operative presence and so an actual presence.

> For the historically past act of redemption is still operating today, is still actively present among us in the power of the divine efficacy, which as principal cause underlay Christ's historical redemptive act. And if we prefer to call this a "virtual" presence, we must remember that in such a context the word takes on a much deeper meaning than we ordinarily give it.[143]

Schillebeekx was also critical of Casel whom he claims was mistaken to have posited an objective Mysteriengegenwart.

> The presence-in-mystery of Christ's eternally-actual redemption and thus of all the mysteries of his life in their perpetuity is, on the contrary, essentially an active presence of the redemptive act as taking hold of a particular individual.[144]

For Shillebeeckx the presence is completely realized when it is reciprocal and develops into an encounter.

It does not seem possible to extend further the analysis of the liturgical mysteries according to the lines of classical Thomistic thought.

The Liturgical Mystery: Otto

What Otto means by the liturgical mystery can only be understood in the context of the meaning of mystery in his whole theological framework. For this it is necessary to see how this notion of mystery has developed throughout his works.

In Naturalism and Religion Otto says that in a world which did not have the marvellous and mysterious, religion could not live at all.[145] To understand something in terms of laws and generalizations does not replace mystery. For laws do not explain anything. Whence come the laws? To explain is to be able to answer the question"why?"[146]

In The Philosophy of Religion Otto says that religion is an experience of mystery. But he does not mean the mystery which exists only for the uninitiated, but the "eternal reality breaking through the veil of temporal existence, to the unlocked heart."[147] This is the seat of the mystic element in all religion. Mystery in religion means and remains mysterious. It is not something obscure for a time such as the mysteries of chemistry (and so capable of solution), nor is it an arcanum, nor is it convertible into some kind of gnosis. It is an absolute ineffabile.[148] But its place can be defined, its force can be proved for human reason, its manifoldness can be shown. Its solution is proclaimed to us in an inexpressable way by Ahndung.[149]

In The Idea of the Holy Otto says that there are two senses in which mysterium can be taken: (1) a purely natural sense in which mystery means a secret or something which is alien to man, that is, a "mystery in the sense of that which is alien to us, uncomprehended and unexplained."[150] In this sense mystery is an ideogram; (2) a religious sense, meaning the "Wholly Other," which is beyond the sphere of the usual, the familiar, which falls outside the limits of the intelligible. It fills the mind with blank wonder and astonishment. It is the object of numinous consciousness.

Otto finds this second kind already present in the lowest level of primitive religion. Here the numinous consciousness is but an "inchoate stirring of the feelings."[151] Otto says that these feelings are rationalized into representations of spirits. Thus such conceptualizations are not the source of religion, but of the rationalization of religion. Such a massive structure of interpretation can be constructed that the mystery itself is excluded. Systematized myth and intellectualist Scholasticism are two examples of what can happen here.

Otto feels the need of a word which would express the mental reaction peculiar to mystery. This word is stupor. It is a different thing from tremor. Stupor is appropriate because it signifies blank wonder, absolute amazement, and astonishment that strikes us dumb.

On the lowest level of religious development the essential characteristics lies

> in a peculiar "moment" of consciousness, to wit, the stupor before something "Wholly Other," whether such an other be named "spirit" or "daemon" or "deva," or be left without any name.[152]

This feeling of consciousness of the Wholly Other is sometimes indirectly aroused by means of objects which are already naturally puzzling or surprising, such as extraordinary phenomena. But this is not a case of one becoming the other, the natural moment of consciousness becoming the numinous moment of consciousness. The transition is not a mere matter of degree. Only the numinous can be truly mysterious. One does not talk of a piece of clockwork that is beyond one's grasp as being "mysterious."

> The truly "mysterious" object is beyond our apprehension and comprehension, not only because our knowledge has certain irremovable limits, but because in it we come upon something inherently "Wholly Other," whose kind and character are incommensurable with our own, and before which we therefore recoil in a wonder that strikes us chill and numb.[153]

The line of development of the numinous consciousness indicates that the feeling of the Wholly Other is heightened and clarified and that its higher modes of manifestation set it off from the familiar, nature in general, turn it to the supernatural, set it in contrast to the world itself, and so raise it to the supermundane.

In mysticism one has the strongest stressing of these non-rational elements inherent in all religion. Mysticism contrasts the numinous object, the Wholly Other, with ordinary experience. Mysticism distinguishes it from being itself. It is "nothing" in the sense that it is absolutely other than everything that can be thought. But mysticism is not completely negative. Negation and contrast are necessary to comprehend the mysterium, but mysticism also finds a positive factor in the Wholly Other in its religious emotion.

Otto warns that words such as supernatural and transcendent tend to give the impression of divesting the mysterium of its originally negative meaning and to turn it into an affirmation.[154] But in terms of conceptual thought these two terms are merely negative and exclusive in regard to nature and the world respectively. The feeling-content, however, is positive in the highest degree, although this is not on the level of conceptuality. So transcendent and supernatural are designations of the Wholly Other through this positive feeling-content, that is, they refer to something whose special character one can feel.

In sum, Otto says that conceptually, mystery is defined only negatively since it refers to what is hidden and esoteric, what is beyond comprehension, beyond understanding. But although the term does not define the qualitative character of the object positively, what is meant is something absolutely positive. This positive reality is experienced in feelings.[155]

This positive feeling-content of the mysterium as it manifests itself in conscious feeling is the dual character of tremendum et fascinans; it is the mysterium as an object of boundless awe and boundless wonder.

Otto tries to describe the mysterium by means of an analogy from aesthetics. The category of the sublime is a pale reflection of it.[156] For instance, the sublime is an idea which cannot be explicated. It has in it something of the mysterious. The sublime also manifests the dual character of the numinous. It is both daunting and attracting at the same time. As Otto puts it:

> It humbles and at the same time exalts us, circumscribes and extends us beyond ourselves, on the one hand releasing in us a feeling analogous to fear, and on the other rejoicing us. So the idea of the sublime is closely similar to that of the numinous, and is well adapted to excite it and to be excited by it, while each tends to pass over into the other.157

At times Otto refers to mysterium as one of the aspects of the numinous experience, the aspect of its mysteriousness. He finds this element expressed in such things as miracles, the spell of the unintelligible language of devotion, and especially in the awe of the worshipper. He finds instances of the last in the special emotional value attached to words like Hallelujah, Kyrie eleison and so forth as well as to the Latin of the Catholic mass, the Sanskrit of the Buddhist services, and the half concealed elements of the Greek Church liturgy. These are all analogies of the mysterious because they are not fully understood, unusual, and arouse the mysterious by a sort of anamnesis.[158]

In Chapter Five of The Idea of the Holy, "The Analysis of 'Mysterium'," Otto sets out to describe the mysterium under its quality of tremendum. It would be a mistake according to Otto to think that tremendum gives one the explanation of mysterium. Tremendum does not necessarily add anything inherent to mysterium. On the level of consciousness the reactions to one overflow and correspond to the other. Mystery is almost always "aweful mystery."[159] But the meaning implied in each is different. For instance, in the case of mysticism the elements of mysteriousness predominate and the "awefulness" sinks into the background. The reverse situation obtains in other experiences.

But the basic understanding behind all of Otto's various attempts to describe the mysterium and its qualities of tremendum and fascinans is that the mysterium is the form of the numinous experience whose content is tremendum et fascinans. This statement is a schematization of the non-rational elements of the numinous experience.

The tremendum is schematized by means of the rational ideas of justice, moral will, and the exclusion of whatever is opposite to morality.[160] When applied to God it becomes his wrath. The fascinans is schematized by means of the ideas of goodness, mercy, and love. It becomes grace when referred to the divinity. The mysterium is schematized by the absoluteness of all rational attributes applied to God. All human attributes admit of degrees, but when applied to God they are formally absolute. Thus, the formal aspect of the Wholly Other is the mysterious.

But while the mysterious and the absolute correspond, the absolute is not genuinely mysterious; it is rather a genuine schema of the mysterious. For while what is absolute can be conceived, it is beyond comprehension because one can only understand the relative. As Otto puts it: "The absolute exceeds our power to comprehend; the mysterious wholly eludes it."[161] The absolute surpasses the limits of our understanding through its formal character. The mysterious, however, lies outside what can be thought and is wholly other even formally.

Although in the mysterious moment there is exact correspondence between the non-rational element and its rational schema, there is something more. Thus, only the category of the holy directly reaches God because only it contains the non-rational experience of the numinous. Categories referring to God such as good, true, or one are rational schematizations and so only indirectly reach God.[162]

But how does one experience the holy, what are the signs in which the holy is revealed? In order to experience the holy Otto does not have recourse to such things as portents or miracles. For him they are not signs of the holy in the true sense but are opportunities prompting the religious feeling to awake of itself. They are merely analogous to the holy. They are not really a genuine anamnesis of the holy in its authentic nature.[163]

In order to experience the holy Otto says that there must be a "faculty of divination." Divination is not concerned with the way a phenomenon came into existence, but with what it means, its significance as a sign of the holy. This faculty of divination is really the "capacity of deeply absorbed contemplation, when confronted by the vast, living totality and reality of things as it is in nature and history."[164] The mind is capable in such a situation of experiencing "intuitions" and "feelings" of an overplus, something in addition to empirical reality. Although this overplus cannot be rationally known, it can be grasped by intuition. It is given form in statements and propositions but which are only analogous to theoretical propositions. They are not statements of doctrine and cannot be built into a system. They are not premises for theoretical conclusions. But these intuitions are true and they are cognitions for they are a kind of knowing, although they are not the product of reflection. They are "the apprehension of a ground and meaning of things in and beyond the empirical and transcending it."[165] They are surmises and inklings of a mysterious reality.

In _The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man_ mystery refers to the kingdom of heaven. It is a "pure _mirum_."[166] The purpose of the parables of the kingdom is to reveal this mystery. The kingdom of heaven belongs to the future but it penetrates from the future into the present. Ordinary things are either future or present. Purely future things cannot be operative here and now. But mysteries can do both. With Jesus the conception of a purely future thing passes over into something which is working even now.

In speaking about the parable of the mustard seed (Mark3:31) Otto asks the question: what did Christ have in mind? Was it that he wanted to show that the kingdom of God was spreading and extending itself? Was he saying that he began in a small way but success is coming and his circle is increasing? This would be quite correct but also quite trivial. Even the hostile saw that. Rather, the point was to see in this eternal phenomenon a secret process in which the transcendent becomes an event in history, to find behind the empirical facts the mystery of the kingdom as already operative and already growing.[167]

In passing to the parable of the leaven (Matthew 13:33 and Luke 13:21) Otto says that it has the same basic meaning as that of the mustard seed: start from a limited beginning and spread throughout the world. But there is more here. Leaven not only spreads, it penetrates and transforms. It means that with this particular _mysterium_ one has "a most unpretentious beginning followed by the greatest of results."[168]

In speaking of this kingdom Otto says:

> although future in its nature, it foreshadows itself mysteriously at the present time. For in regard to a thing, which is purely and strictly future, yet noticeable and traceable in its powerful precursory working, future and yet somehow present, the expression "mysterium," and the conception that such a "mysterium" is given to some in mysterious apprehension while closed to others, were so appropriate that they necessarily had to appear.[169]

So this kingdom which is future and yet already dawning is a mystery. But to grasp this mystery one needs the ability and desire to hear and see rightly. Christ spoke about the kingdom in parables. Many did not understand these parables, not because they were confused by parabolic discourse but because they would or could not see or hear rightly.[170] To the degree that one has the capacity to see and hear spiritually, the mystery is given and opened. To one who could see the mystery of the kingdom as already present, the salvation of a new age was visible.

In sum, for Otto _mysterium tremendum et fascinans_ refers to the Wholly Other, the transcendent God. _Mysterium_ is the formal aspect under which this God is experienced. He is a God who inspires awe and fascination at the same time. This God, as Spirit, is working in the world now. The Spirit is the eschatological order and so _mysterium_ also refers to God under the aspect of his eschatological kingdom.

Otto never seems to refer explicitly to Christ as _mysterium_ but he does distinguish between the objective and subjective senses of the numinous in regard to Christ. In the objective sense Christ is the object of worship who excites the sense of the numinous and is divine. In the subjective sense as perfect man he would feel to the full the sense of the numinous which is the proper attitude of humanity toward the divine.[171] One can say and still be in accord with Otto's thought that Christ, at least in the objective sense, is mysterium.

The section on the Eucharist in Chapter Three clearly showed that Otto maintained that in the Eucharist there is a transubstantiation not of substances but of events. The event of the mystery of Golgotha is present in the event of the breaking of the bread. Here also Christ is mysterium in so far as he cannot be separated from his redemptive activity.

Turning to the liturgical mystery as such one notes that much of Otto's concern with the liturgy has to do with its suggestive aspect, that side of the liturgy which has more to do with heightening and intensifying what the worshipper already has rather than merely expressing it. For this reason Otto lays such stress on the element of mystery that for him lies at the heart of worship. He does not wish to reduce worship to the sense of mystery. He is not saying that the numinous is the introduction of a foreign body into worship. He would be the first to admit that it cannot be felt by people who do not have the capacity for it. None the less what is already there stands in need of suggestion just as most people need musicians and poets to express for them what they never could.

In The Idea of the Holy in his analysis of the elements of the numinous Otto asks what are the special features of the unique experience of solemn worship.

> To be rapt in worship is one thing, to be morally uplifted by the contemplation of a good deed is another; and it is not to their common features, but to those elements of emotional content peculiar to the first that we would have attention directed as precisely as possible. 172

Feelings such as gratitude, trust, humility, and dedication do not exhaust the content of religious worship.

Over and above these there is an element which may, quite apart from them, affect one. It is no everyday mood. It is brought about, often unexpectedly, by the strange and fantastic. It is not something which is the result of rational deduction. It can be found in strong personal piety, in the atmosphere that clings to old religious monuments and buildings as well as in ordered solemnities of rites and liturgies. "The feeling of it may at times come sweeping like a gentle tide, pervading the mind with a tranquil mood of deepest worship."[173] This is more than a religious consciousness of the dreadful. That is but one moment of a completer experience. The only kind of worship that can result from dread alone is expiation and propitiation. It can never explain those sacramental rituals in which human beings seek to get the numinous in their possession. For that one must have not only mysterium tremendum, but also fascinans. It must evoke a sense of wonder as well as of fear and of astonishment. But astonishment before the greatness or strangeness of the universe is not yet religious. "It needs the direct and irreducible experience of personal relationship to become worship."[174]

Otto felt that this personal feeling of the numinous was found as a living factor in Catholicism's forms of worship and sacramental symbolism, whereas the Lutheran school had not done justice to the numinous side of the Christian idea of God. It tended to interpret it in exclusively moral terms. "More and more it deprived the forms of worship of the genuinely contemplative and specifically devotional elements in them."[175]

Otto also objected to recent proposed reforms in the Lutheran Church as being too balanced, lacking in the unaccountable and therefore lacking in suggestivity. Nothing in these too rational services

> rises from the deeps below consciousness to break the rounded unity of the wonted disposition, and thereby point to a unity of a higher order---in a word, little that is really spiritual.[176]

Otto gave another example of a numinous liturgy.

> A liturgy unusually rich in numinous hymns and prayers is that of _Yom Kippur_, the great Day of Atonement of the Jews. It is overshadowed by the "Holy, Holy, Holy," of the Seraphim (Isaiah 6), which recurs more than once.[177]

But as is clear from the section of this chapter dealing with silence, it is ultimately only silence which best expresses the _mysterium_.

Otto's concrete meaning of the liturgical mystery has been amply demonstrated throughout this dissertation. His concern for worship grew out of the desire to bring others to the experience of the Wholly Other. His services were so modelled that they would climax in the silent worship when the _mysterium tremendum et fascinans_ would enter the hearts of the congregated worshippers. This transcendent reality present in the liturgy ever anew is the kingdom of God. In the Eucharist God is present because the mystery of Golgotha is present in the breaking of the bread. Mystery means not only the transcendent God, the eschatological kingdom, but the redemptive events of Christ.

Otto's position on the _mysterium_ in the liturgy has not been without its critics. For instance, Talley remarks that while the _Mysterienlehre_ school of Casel articulated a theology of liturgy as constitutive of community, Otto was a child of his age and his preoccupation with the rare encounter of the _mysterium_ tended to separate religion so that liturgy was reduced to pietism and romanticism.[178] One should also recall here the criticism made of Otto under the section on silence, namely, that he tried to manipulate the divine in his services.

On the positive side, Otto's understanding of the liturgical mystery especially regarding the Eucharist has been endorsed by other Protestant theologians. For instance, Peter Brunner approves of Otto's statement that

> with, in and under the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Golgotha becomes event here and now---not through our imagining, but through Jesus' institution.179

That means for Brunner that in the act of Holy Communion, the historical salvation-event concentrated in Jesus' cross is indeed present for man with its redemptive gift through "effective representation." Brunner says of Otto that:

> ...his insights regarding the anamnesis-event may really be termed prophetic anticipation of the results of an investigation which, in detail, is still in progress today, the basic thought of which (rendering the salvation-event present through cultic anamnesis) may be assumed, however, as firmly established.180

It is precisely Otto's treatment of the liturgical mystery that places him in an ecumenical light. At the same time that he was developing his notion of mysterium in the liturgy, Odo Casel was doing his work on the same subject. Otto knew Casel's work and agreed with the substance of it. Each man tried to give a realism to the liturgical event in terms of his own tradition. The ecumenical import of this is obvious. But the words of Otto speak for themselves on the point of the ecumenicity of his theology of mystery.

> In the second volume of the encyclopedia, Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Religion in History and at the Present Time) the Roman Catholic writer, Casel says in his article on the mass:"...a symbolic act which is imbued with the presence of the redemptive act," and further that the Church "through the solemn words of commemoration (the anamnesis) makes the sacrifice of Christ and thereby the redemptive work which culminates in his death to be present." If I understand these words aright, that is exactly the sense of my own exposition. We have to do then not with a transubstantiation of a physical substance into a hyperphysical substance but with the transubstantiation of an event (namely the breaking of the bread) into another event (namely the event of Golgotha). In a'mystical manner' time is eliminated and what was past becomes "really present." --- A critic has called my interpretation

> "catholic;" to me it seems to be truly evangelical. But the words of the Catholic writer which I have quoted may permit one to hope that, on the strength of this interpretation, the separated denominations may yet find some common ground in a part of their doctrine and practice which is now such a painful source of estrangement between them.[181]

The Liturgical mystery: Casel and Otto

1. Both Casel and Otto were sufficiently broad-minded to go beyond Christianity in their investigations of the mysterious---Casel to pagan and Hellenic mysteries, Otto to primitive and non-Christian religions.

2. Both rejected the excessively didactic approach to faith. Both were interested in restoring a vital symbolism to the liturgy. Casel wished to renew the liturgy in the light of Patristic and sacramental theology. Otto saw the necessity of a vital sacramental symbolism in terms of religious experience and according to Reformation principles.

3. Both Casel and Otto employed the phenomenological approach to the liturgical mystery. It was an attempt to use a less totally transcendent viewpoint.

4. Despite the fact that Casel's understanding of mystery sprang from his religious experiences, he continued to use "ontological" language, whereas Otto's description of *mysterium* was more on the phenomenological level. Otto was also concerned with the epistemological question of how to experience the holy and tried to distinguish the numinous experience from schematizations of it. Otto's approach was more intuitive than Casel's.

5. Both men made the same basic divisions of the liturgical mystery:
   (a) Casel: the unapproachable God in himself.
   Otto: the transcendent Wholly Other and the Kingdom of God.

   (b) Casel: Christ in his salvific activity.
   Otto: Christ as the object of worship

   (c) Casel: The redemptive activity of Christ present in the liturgical rite.
   Otto: the Wholly Other who comes in silent worship, the kingdom of heaven present in the liturgy, and the mystery of Golgotha present in the breaking of the bread.

6. Both wished to maintain liturgical realism in ritual action. If some of Casel's expressions are unfortunate regarding the historical dimensions of the salvific actions of Christ, some of Otto's expressions actually appear anti-liturgical.

7. For both the sacrifice of Christ, not just its effects, must be present in the Eucharist. Casel did not wish to limit redemption only to the passion and the cross. In Otto it is not clear what place the other activities of Christ play in regard to salvation.

8. Although the Risen Christ is too static in Casel, he was trying to understand the presence of the saving work in a more dynamic way than the substantial presence of Christ under the form of bread. Although religious experience of the transcendent appears too discontinous in Otto, for him the mystery of Golgotha was part of the eschatological process of the kingdom working in history. The Eucharist is a transubstantiation of dynamic events, not static substances.

9. For Casel liturgy is a sacred action and celebration and not principally silent adoration and meditation. It is not so much the action of the individual as of the Church assembled. Otto held basically the same position, but his emphasis was more on the contemplative and individual aspects of the liturgy. He saw worship climaxing in rest.

10. Casel thought that liturgical action is a solemn celebration, not in the sense of external ceremonial but in the festive attitude of the whole human being. Otto agreed and concretely did more than Casel to bring this about. Otto's pastoral sensitivities were more evident than Casel's.

11. The ecumenical value of Casel's position is that by emphasizing the Patristic and biblical understanding of mystery, it opened up the possibility for a rapprochement with the Protestant tradition. Otto has expressly stated that he was in agreement with Casel's understanding of mystery.

Rudolf Otto and the Contemporary Roman Catholic Liturgical Movement

The purpose of this final section is to demonstrate that Otto's concrete liturgical reforms had an ecumenical import. An obvious way of doing this is by showing the unanimity between many of his principles and proposals and those of the Roman Catholic liturgical movement most of which were officially approved in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council.[182]

This comparison is done with two facts in mind. First, it is in the nature of an example. One could compare Otto's concrete suggestions with those found in the liturgical movements of the Protestant and Anglican Churches. But in light of the fact that Otto was not in sympathy with a great deal in the Roman Catholic tradition, the areas of agreement become more salient. Secondly, Otto had little influence on the liturgical movements of his own as well as that of the Roman Catholic tradition. I am not trying here to demonstrate any direct causal link between Otto's liturgical work and the reforms of the Second Vatican Council. My argumentation here is more that of confirmation after the fact of the ecumenicity of Otto as a liturgist.

What follows is a reference to much of the material from Chapters One and Two on which there is agreement between Otto and the modern Roman Catholic liturgical movement. This material is structured according to the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy employing section three of Chapter One and Chapters Two, Four, Five, Six and Seven.[183] Appropriate references are made to major Roman Catholic liturgical documents to substantiate this basic agreement. These documents are: (C.L.): The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council,[184] (G.I.H.): General Instruction on the Liturgy of the Hours,[185] (G.I.R.M.): General Instruction to the Roman Missal,[186] (I.M.): Instruction of the Congregation of Rites on Music in the Liturgy,[187] (I.E.W.): Instruction on Eucharistic Worship,[188] (I.T.L.T.): Instruction on Translation of Liturgical Texts,[189] (I.L.): Introduction to the Lectionary for Mass,[190] (3.I.): Third Instruction on the Correct Application of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy,[191] (P.M.E.C.): The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations,[192] (R.C.B.): The Rite for Christian Burial.[193]

I. The Reform of the Liturgy

1. General Norms: Otto's general principles are simplicity (C.L.34) and diversity of ritual (C.L. 37,38), fidelity to the structure of Christian worship (C.L.23), the proper distribution of roles in the liturgy (C.L. 28), the recovery of the structure of the Eucharist (C.L.50), the promotion of the liturgical hours (C.L. 83,84), a restructured Church Year (C.L. 107), a

proper place for music in the liturgy (C.L. 112), evangelical Church appointments (C.L. 122), and the gradual introduction of liturgical changes (C.L. 23). Moreover, the externals of the liturgy should respond to the requirements of human psychology (C.L. 11,21).

2. Norms drawn from the hierarchic and communal nature of the liturgy: Worship must be congregational for the congregation is primary in worship (C.L. 26,27). There must be a greater place for antiphonal and responsorial prayer (C.L. 30). The whole congregation should be supported by small groups such as the choir (I.M. 19). This choir can be placed in front, back, or spread throughout the congregation (I.M. 23). Otto recommended a form of clerus minor which preaches and counsels. It was somewhat similar to the present Roman Catholic permanent diaconate. Otto encouraged the use of laymen or lay readers in the services (C.L. 29). All this was in accord with his principle that there should be a clear distinction of the roles of the ministers in the liturgy.

3. Norms based upon the educative and pastoral nature of the liturgy: The first duty in liturgical reform is the mission of the Church (C.L. 9,10). For Otto liturgical changes and adult education go together (C.L. 19). The rites should be non-didactic, that is, they should be understandable without much explanation (C.L. 34). The language of the liturgy should be modernized (I.T.L.T. 7). The style of prayers and litanies should be contemporary (I.T.L.T. 20). The scripture should be well chosen (C.L. 35:i).

4. Norms for adapting the liturgy to the genius and traditions of peoples: Otto sought greater opportunity for creativity and adaptation in the liturgy (C.L. 37,38). He opted for the middle ground between stark formalism and ungoverned freedom (C.L. 39). He emphasized

the need for experimentation that is controlled and within limits and guidelines (C.L. 40:ii). He sought for plurality, not uniformity in worship (C.L. 37). Worship should respond to the temperaments and needs of the community (C.L. 37). There should be both formal congregational worship as well as informal small group liturgies (G.I.R.M.: Chapter Four). There cannot be only one established ritual (C.L. 63:b). Liturgical reform does not equal subtraction (C.L. 40:i and 3.I:1).

5. Promotion of liturgical life in diocese and parish: Otto sought enriched forms for the liturgy and encouraged active participation so that liturgy would be connected with the rest of life (3:I:13). He felt the necessity of the improvement of prayer life and of better methods of prayer as requisites for liturgical reform (C.L. 11, 12, 13).

6. The promotion of pastoral-liturgical action: There should be no violent introduction of liturgical changes (C.L. 40:ii). Liturgical reform should not be a paste and scissors job (C.L. 40.i and ii). There should be centers for experimentation (C.L. 44). There should be special celebrations for the youth.[194] Liturgy and preaching should take note of biblical and dogmatic research (3:I:2a). Reference to the life of Christ and his gospel must be done in fidelity to historical reality (C.L. 35:ii).

II. The Eucharist

The Lord's Supper is the eschatological covenant meal of brotherhood (C.L. 47). Each Eucharist is a celebration of the whole Church and so it must be congregational in character (C.L. 48). All those present at the Eucharist should participate by receiving communion (C.L. 55). The Eucharist has no meaning apart from itself (C.L. 6, 47, 48). It is the perfect form for the memorial celebration of the dead (R.C.B: Introduction:1). The exercise of the common priesthood should be emphasized through singing and responsorial prayer (C.L. 7, 30, 54 and I.E.W: 11). Good communal speaking should be emphasized (C.L. 30).

The Eucharist should be a full worship with Word, sacrament, song, preaching, prayer and silence, but there should be options for parts of the service, e.g., the entrance psalm (G.I.R.M: Chapter Two). There should be rhythm in the liturgy (G.I.R.M.: Chapter Two). Both parts of the service should not be excessive in length and should have a climax (G.I.R.M: Chapter Two). There should be transitional moments such as silence between the prayers and after the readings, silence after the sermon, and a pause during the collection (G.I.R.M: 23).[195] Silence should play a larger part in the liturgy than has been traditional (G.I.R.M: 23). Announcements should be kept brief (G.I.R.M: 123).

There should be a penitential rite in the communion services, in some cases before the liturgy of the Word (G.I.R.M: 29). New collects should be composed.[196]

The lectionary should be constructed according to some principle (I.L: Chapter One). Texts should be organized according to a theme and the texts should speak directly to the people (I.L: Chapter One and C.L. 35:i and 92:a). There should be more readings from the Old Testament and there should be a three year cycle of readings for the liturgical year so that the congregation can be exposed to the whole bible (I.L: Chapter One:3). Otto preferred two rather than three readings.[197] There should also be the possibility of non-scriptural readings in the liturgy (G.I.H: 55, 159-65). The texts are to be read and so cannot be too lengthy (I.L: Chapter One: 7b). The hierarchy of importance of the readings should be shown by reading some from the reading desk and others from the pulpit (G.I.R.M: 89, 94, 95).[198] There should be congregational responses to the readings, e.g. Alleluia (G.I.R.M: 36-40).

The sermon should be based upon the read texts, although on special occasions the preacher can chose his own (C.L. 35:ii and 52). Otto promoted a collection of sermons for the aid of preachers. This is reminiscent of the homily services published at the present time. Preaching should be improved by taking into account contemporary demythologization (3.i:2a). Special sermons should be addressed to the young (3.I:2a). Other means of communicating the Word should be employed other than traditional preaching. There can be an exchange of preachers or mobile pastors.[199]

The creed should be restricted in use and should not separate the Word and the sermon (G.I.R.M: 43-44). The general intercessions should be restored (C.L. 53). The minister should employ manual actions during the institution narrative (G.I.R.M: 170ff). The Lord's Prayer should be restored as a congregational prayer (G.I.R.M.:16). The use of the cup or intinction is recommended for communion (G.I.R.M: 240-53).

The practice of free prayer should be restored to the liturgy. Fixed prayer should serve as the model for free prayer. Free prayer should follow the theme of the liturgy.[200] The kiss of peace (possibly a handshake) should be restored (G.I.R.M: 56b, 112). Otto prefers it at the beginning of the liturgy of the Eucharist.[201]

The minister should face the congregation when presiding at the altar (G.I.R.M: 262). The altar should resemble a table (3.I:9). There should be candles on the table (G.I.R.M: 79, 84, 269).[202] The proper time for the Eucharist is in the evening.[203] Otto regrets that there is not more liturgy during the week, especially for small groups.

III. The Divine Office

There should be a greater use of psalms in worship but they should not be done in a mechanical way (G.I.H: 100ff). They can be shortened and lengthened as required (G.I.H: 126ff). Other psalmodic parts of the bible can be used as psalms (G.I.H: 136-9). The hours should incorporate writings not only by historical figures but also by contemporary ones (G.I.H: 159-165). Prayers should be used which are composed both by contemporary men as well as men of the past (G.I.H: 179-193). The morning and evening prayer services are the pivotal ones (G.I.H: 37). The office should allow for greater lay participation (C.L. 100 and G.I.H: 27). Otto wanted a common prayer book.

IV. The Liturgical Year

Otto desired a reform of the Church calendar that would give a thematic unity to the readings (I.L: Chapter Two). Each day (especially Sunday), time, or section of the Church Year should have its own special character (I.L: Chapter Two and C.L. 107). There should be special prayers for Sundays and feasts.[204] There should be a distinction between rich feast day liturgies and simple ordinary ones (G.I.R.M: 31, 76, 77, 209-212 and C.L. 53). The date of Easter should be fixed (C.L: Appendix). Some feasts which occur during the week should be transferred to Sunday so that more can celebrate these feasts.[205] The structure of the year should be elastic but the pericope system of readings should be employed to avoid leaving worship to the caprice of the minister (I.L: Chapter One). The Church Year should have a definite eschatological emphasis (I.L:Chapter Two).

V. Sacred Music

Music is subordinated to the liturgy (C.L. 112). It must be tailored to the capacities of the congregation (I.M: 9). Liturgy must not be turned into a concert (I.M: 11). Liturgical music should possess a unity and set the mood for contemplation (I.M: 5). More music should be used on feast days (I.M: 5,27). The choir should not usurp the function of the congregation (I.M: 16c), but music should not be limited to congregational singing only (I.M: 19). Instrumental and vocal solos are very much in place (I.M: 62).

Modern music should be employed and the Church should promote the composition of new music (C.L. 121). Whether contemporary compositions will endure will have to be left to time (I.M: 60). True poets must be employed and they must be mindful of the requirements of liturgical worship (C.L. 121). The hymns should express the contemporary experience (P.M.E.C: III,3). Popular and folk music should be used (P.M.E.C: III,4). There is room for disposable music in the liturgy or that which is suitable only for the group for which it was composed (P.M.E.C: III,13). Songs should not be sung dogma but community brotherhood songs(P.M.E.C: I).

More use should be made of the cantor (I.M: 21 and P.M.E.C: III,2c) and the intercessory style of singing in which the congregation repeats the same phrase (I.M.: 33). More should be made of sung psalmody (G.I.H: 103,270). The collects should not be sung[206] but the Lord's Prayer should (I.M: 35). There should be no fixed hymnal.[207] Congregations should learn to sing a capella.[208] The singing should be speeded up.[209] Music should be used in paraliturgical services (C.L. 118) although people should get accustomed to services without music.

VI. Sacred Art and Sacred Furnishings

Simplicity should be the hallmark of Church appointments (C.L. 124). There should be no statues or reredoses (C.L. 125)[210] The simple cross should be used rather than the cruficix.[211] There should be a focal point of attention in the Church building.[212] The use of vestments is approved, but Otto does not prefer the full colored ones.[213] He does feel, however, that there should be more color in Protestant Churches.

VII. Summary Outline

1. Otto was in basic agreement with The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy regarding both its general norms as well as its more specific norms: those based on the hierarchic, communal, educative, and pastoral nature of the liturgy, those concerned with adaptation of the liturgy to different cultures, and those concerned with the promotion of liturgical life and pastoral-liturgical action.

2. Otto anticipated much of the theology and practice of the Eucharist of the Second Vatican Council. There is considerable unanimity regarding concrete details of eucharistic celebration.

3. Many of Otto's proposals regarding the liturgical hours have been put into effect through the revision of the Divine Office.

4. Otto's general approach to the liturgical year has been followed in the restructuring of the Calendar and Lectionary.

5. There is considerable agreement on the details of the place of music in the liturgy between Otto and the official documents on liturgical music.

6. There is a similarity of spirit in what little Otto said concerning Church art and furnishings and what The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy states on the same matter.

Concluding Note to the Dissertation

The main conclusion of this dissertation is that Rudolf Otto, a leading Christian theologian of the Twentieth century, was a true ligurgical theologian, not only because he engaged in concrete experimentation in seeking new and more vital forms of worship, but especially because he had a liturgical theology which, although not full articulated, is the basis of his liturgical principles and proposals and is in the mainstream of ecumenical liturgical thinking.

Secondary conclusions of this dissertation are:

(1) that Otto was in basic agreement with Odo Casel regarding the key concept of the liturgical mystery;

(2) that Otto anticipated both in theory and practice much in the Roman Catholic liturgical movement that was expressed in _The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy_;

(3) that a viable liturgical theology and experimentation must spring from religious experience;

(4) that liturgy that is to be pastorally oriented must possess the contemplative element;

(5) that an eschatological and processive theology can be the basis of a liturgical theology;

(6) that an accurate understanding of Otto's thought cannot be based on _The Idea of the Holy_ alone, but must spring from the totality of his work.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Four

1. It is worth noting here the great ecumenical concern of Otto's contemporary in Marburg, Friedrich Heiler. Heiler, a former Roman Catholic, considered himself an ecumenical Christian, an evangelical Catholic. This sentiment colors his book, The Spirit of Worship.

2. P. xix.

3. Professor D.H. Mulert in his article, "Otto's Ökumenisches Interesse," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, 19 (1938), makes a comparison of Otto and Troeltsch in their ecumenical work. He says that unlike Otto, Troeltsch had many dealings with Catholic Modernists and non-Protestants. But Troeltsch was never very involved in the ecumenical movement itself. He did not live to see the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work held at Stockholm in 1925. According to Mulert he would have been opposed to the First World Conference on Faith and Order held at Lausanne in 1927.

4. The present ecumenical movement dates from the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 and in the next three decades flowed into two main channels. "Life and Work" was concerned with applying Christianity to social, economic and political life, and "Faith and Order" was concerned with specifically theological, ecclesiastical questions. They were united into the World Council of Churches in 1937 in conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh. The notable conferences of "Life and Work" were held at Stockholm (1925) and Oxford (1937); those of "Faith and Order" at Lausanne (1927) and Edinburgh (1937).

5. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1937).

6. This section is heavily dependent on the article by Mulert referred to in footnote three.

7. Religious Essays, p. 142.

8. Ibid., p. 143.

9. Loc. cit.

10. Ibid., p. 146.

11. Pp. 110 ff.

12. Ibid., p. 112.

13. Ibid., p. 113.

14. Ibid., p. 114.

15. Ibid., p. 115.

16. Loc. cit.

17. Loc. cit.

18. Ibid., p. 116.

19. Ibid., p. 117.

20. Ibid., p. 118.

21. Ibid., p. 120.

22. Pp. 150 ff. This article, "An Inter-Religious League," first appeared in The Hibbert Journal, 29 (1931).

23. Ibid., p. 151.

24. Ibid., p. 153.

25. Ibid., p. 155.

26. Ibid., p. 156.

27. Dr. Schaefer gives 1930 as the date of the founding of this organization. But she may be referring to the date of an attempt to resuscitate it rather than to its first beginning. She also says that Otto had the names of many important people on his membership list. She notes that the organization was destroyed with the coming to power in Germany of the Nationalist Socialist Party.

28. In the meantime the American Church Peace Union was founded and had its first meeting in Ghent in September 1928. The presidents of the Inter-Religious League of Mankind were invited and went there in the hope that this new society, also a gathering of religious communities the world over, would enlarge and spiritualize its proposed very narrow and pragmatic program.

29. Types of Religious Experience, pp. 226-7.

30. This section is mainly dependent on Viktor Warnach, O.S.B., "Einführung in die Theologie Odo Casels," in Odo Casel, Das christliche Opfermysterium (Graz: Styria, 1968).

A very complete bibliography of writing by and on Casel is: Osvaldo D. Santagada, "Dom Odo Casel, " Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft, 10 (1967), 7-77.

Another good Casel bibliography is D. Praxedes Bienias, O.S.B., "Bibliographie von DDR. P. Odo Casel, OSB," Vom christlichen Mysterium, ed. by Anton Mayer, Johannes Quasten, Burkhard Neunheuser, O.S.B. (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1951), p. 363-75.

For informative articles on the work of Casel see: Louis Bouyer, Liturgical Piety (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 1955), chapters seven and eight. Donald Bridgehouse, "Dom Odo Casel: A Short Appreciation and a Translation from his works," Downside Review, 75 (1957), 140-8. H. A. Reinhold, "Timely Tracts. Dom Odo Casel," Orate Fratres, 22 (1948), 366-72.B. Neunheuser, O.S.B. "Mystery Presence," Worship, 34 (1960), 120-7. L. M. McMahon, "Towards a Theology of the Liturgy: Dom Odo Casel and the 'Mysterientheorie,'" Studia Liturgica, 3 (1964), 129. B. Neunheuser, "The Mystery Presence: Dom Odo Casel and the latest Research, " Downside Review, 76 (1958), 266-74.

31. De Philosophorum Graecorum Silentio Mystico (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1919 Casel received his doctorate from the Frederick Wilhelm University at Bonn in 1918. This degree was actually in the field of philosophy.

32. It was published in 1918 and is part of the collection, Ecclesia Orans, ed. by Abbott I. Herwegen (Freiburg: Herder). Casel's work is the second volume of this series.

33. This series was originally published by Aschendorff in Münster. Since 1951 it has continued as Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft (Regensburg: Pustet).

34. See Das christliche Opfermysterium, p. xxxiii. Dr. Luther Reed recalls that Otto and Heiler both spent some time at Maria Laach. (Personal letter from David J. Wartluft, assistant librarian at Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, June 11, 1969.)

35. Burkhard Neuheuser, "Masters in Israel: Odo Casel," Clergy Review, 55 (1970), 194-212. This is a brief but very competent introduction to Casel's life, works and influence. One of the advantages of this article is that it shows how Casel's thought culminated in the Second Vatican Council.

36. It is in this light that one must view the weaknesses in Casel's thought as pointed out by Charles Davis, "Notes on A Recent Work: Odo Casel's Das christliche Kultmysterium," Clergy Review, 46 (1961) 664-670. Davis makes the following criticisms of Casel: (1) He was out of touch with the pastoral problems of the liturgy. (2) There is a tinge of Romanticism in his ideas because he failed to see the liturgy as a growing and changing reality in the actual life of the Church. (3) His views on Latin were Romantic. (4) His dismissal of the desire for intelligibility contradicts the pastoral nature of the liturgy.

37. Das christliche Opfermysterium, p. IL.

38. For a brief summary of Casel's method and basic insight see Das christliche Opfermysterium, pp. xxxvi-viii.

39. Ibid., p. xxxi.

40. See p. ix of the preface by Charles Davis of Odo Casel, The Mystery

of Christian Worship (Westminster, Md: The Newman Press, 1962).

41. Ibid., p. 192.

42. Loc. cit.

43. See p. ix of the preface by Charles Davis of The Mystery of Christian Worship.

44. I make no attempt here to analyze the relationship of religious experience and Otto's entire theological method. For references on work done in this area consult the footnotes of the section on Otto as a theologian in Chapter One. I simply wish to indicate the context in which a discussion of Otto's notion of the liturgy and religious experience must take place.

45. P. 185.

46. See The Idea of the Holy, p. 6, 113, 140.

47. Davidson, op. cit., p. 171ff.

48. Cf. pp. 93, 98, 118, 137.

49. Another place where Otto acknowledges the natural, empirical, and practical side of religion is in his writings on ethics published after his death. See Freiheit und Notwendigkeit.

Jack Sibley says of Otto on this point:

> In his The Idea of the Holy (1917) as well as his later Religious Essays: A Supplement to The Idea of the Holy (1931), Otto does not seem as yet to face up to the difficulties occasioned by his view of the radical autonomy of religion, but this is only on the surface. A closer look indicates a very definite recognition of an identification with a more rational, empirical and natural view of religion. He could never quite escape Aristotle's notion that "all that is potential presupposes an actual as the ground of its possibility." Sibley, op. cit., p. 227. See also IH, p. 115.

50. P. 74.

51. Ibid., p. 77. For Otto the three supreme types of religious feeling correspond to the three fundamental mysteries of religion: our eternal Destiny, the consciouness of guilt, God's eternal providence. These are respectively enthusiasm, self-surrender and devotion. The feeling of absolute dependence is only one of its phases and is included in the feeling of devotion. The Philosophy of Religion, p. 137.

52. Loc. cit.

53. Ibid., p. 227.

54. P. 214.

55. Thomas Talley, "The Sacredness of Contemporary Worship," Worship in the City of Man, Twenty-Seventh North American Liturgical Week (Washington, D.C." The Liturgical Conference, 1966), p. 33.

56. Loc. cit.

57. Ibid., p. 34.

58. Ibid., p. 38.

59. Personal letter from Talley, April 14, 1969.

60. Most of the material in this section on Casel and silence is taken from his Ecclesia Orans: Die Liturgie als Mysterienfeier (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder and Co., 1923), chapter 4: "Das Mystische Schweigen." An article of almost identical content by Casel is "Vom heiligen Schweigen," Benediktinische Monatschrift, 3 (1921), 417ff.

61. Ecclesia Orans, p. 150.

62. Casel is, of course, referring to the practice of the divine office in vogue during his life time.

63. The article, "Vom Heiligen Schweigen," p. 421.

64. Loc. cit.

65. Ibid., p. 423.

66. Loc. cit.

67. Ibid., p. 424.

68. Ecclesia Orans, p. 143.

69. Ibid., p. 144.

70. Ibid., p. 154.

71. The Idea of the Holy, appendix eight. This essay previously appeared in substantially the same form in German as "Schweigender Dienst," Die christliche Welt, 34 (1920), column 561ff.

72. Cf. the essay, "Religious History and Theology."

73. Religious Essays, p. 91.

74. Idea of the Holy, p. 70.

75. Ibid., p. 69.

76. Ibid., pp. 211-2.

77. Loc. cit.

78. (Tübingen: J. C.B. Mohr, 1921). The book originally appeared in English. Silent Worship: The Way of Wonder (London: The Swarthmore Press Ltd., 1919).

79. Ibid. From Otto's introduction to the German edition.

80. Loc. cit.

81. The Idea of the Holy, p. 212.

82. It should be noted that Otto did not get his idea of the silent worship from the Quakers alone. Linderholm had made use of it previously.

83. Loc. cit.

84. Ibid., p. 213.

85. Loc. cit.

86. Ibid., p. 214.

87. Religious Essays, p. 54.

88. See Chapter Two for other methods of praying this prayer.

89. Loc. cit.

90. Loc. cit.

91. Die Christliche Welt, 35 (1921), column 62.

92. Loc. cit.

93. Dynamics of Worship, p. 36.

94. This summary is based for the most part on Charles Davis, Liturgy and Doctrine, chapter five.

95. Ibid., p. 87.

96. Ibid., p. 91

97. In more than one hundred articles, letters and books between 1918 and 1941 Casel developed his theology based on the notion of mysterium that he felt adequately expressed the teachings of the Fathers and the ancient liturgies. The most explicit exposition of his doctrine is found in his book, The Mystery of Christian Worship.

98. Das christliche Opfermysterium, p. XLI.

99. *Loc. cit.*

100. *Ibid.*, p. XLIV

101. Charles Davis, "Odo Casel and the Theology of Mysteries," *Worship*, 34 (1960), pp. 428-438 gives a brief but good introduction to the mystery theology. It is one of the clearest popular explanations of what Casel's theory means for the liturgy that I have read.

102. *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, p. 5.

103. Odo Casel, "Das Mysteriengedächtnis der Messeliturgie im Lichte der Tradition," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* (J.L.W.), 6 (1926), 142.
I. H. Dalmais, O.P., *Introduction to the Liturgy*, trans. by Roger Capel (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961), p. 60, finds three meanings of mystery in Pauline thought: (1) the secret of revelation, (2) the admittance of all nations to the same rights as Israel, and (3) Christ. On the matter of the Pauline understanding of mystery see A.G. Martimort, ed., *The Church at Prayer* (New York: Desclée, 1968), and Louis Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety*, p. 97.

104. *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, p. 6.

105. *J.L.W.*, 8 (1929), 212.

106. *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, p. 7.

107. Odo Casel, "Glaube, Gnosis und Mysterium," *J.L.W.*, 15 (1941), 276.

108. Th. Filthaut, *La Théologie des mystères* (Tournai: Desclée, 1954), p. 18. This work first appeared in German as *Die Kontroverse über die Mysterienlehre* (Warendorf: Schnell, 1947).

109. *J.L.W.*, 15 (1941), 251.

110. Casel, "Mysteriengegenwart," *J.L.W.*, 8 (1928), 163.

111. Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety*, p. 87-88.

112. *J.L.W.*, 6 (1926), 203.

113. Casel, "Le Mystère de la Fête," *La Maison Dieu*, 1 (1945), 25.

114. Martimort, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

116. *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, p. 164-5.

117. *J.L.W.*, 8 (1928),247.

118. Filthaut, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

119. *J.L.W.*, 8 (1928), 175.

120. Bernard J. O'Keefe, "Casel and Calvin on the Eucharist," *Canadian Journal of Theology*, 11 (1965), 14.

121. *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, p. 172.

122. *Der Begriff des Mysteriums bei Johannes Chrysostomus* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1953), p. 20.

123. Contemporary Roman Catholic theologians such as L. Monden, E. Schillebeeckx, and J. Betz consider Casel's doctrine in conformity with Patristic thinking. The Fathers affirm the fact of the presence of Christ's death as a saving act in the mystery of Christian worship but they do not provide any indications of how this takes place.

124. *J.L.W.*, 13 (1935), 123.

125. *The Sacraments*, p. 120.

126. Davis' preface to *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, p. xi.

127. McMahon, *op. cit.*, p. 153-4.

128. Pp. 73-4.

129. Pehr Edwall, Eric Hayman, William D. Maxwell, eds., *Ways of Worship* (London: SCM Press LTD, 1951).

130. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

131. The best report of the controversey over Casel's theory up to 1947 is given in the work by Th. Filthaut, *La Théologie des mystères*.

132. E. Gratsch, "Odo Casel's Theory about Liturgy," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 143 (1960), 73-82.

133. *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

134. For an extensive criticism of Casel and the pagan mysteries, see Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety*, chapter 7.

135. McMahon, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

136. *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, p. 34.

137. A clear discussion by Casel on the relationship of the pagan and Greek understanding of mystery to the Christian mystery is found in *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, pp. 169-72.

138. McMahon, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

139. Davis' preface to *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, p. xi.

140. E. Schillebeeckx, *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963). See also Martimort, *op. cit.*, p. 206 and especially B. Neunheuser, O.S.B., "Mystery Presence," *Worship*, 34 (1960), 120-7. Neuheuser gives a brief summary of the attempt by Dom Polycarp Wegenaer to give Casel's theory a Thomistic and Scholastic philosophical framework. The analysis is in terms of instrumental causality and the spatiotemporal transcendence of the primary cause of Christ's resurrection.

141. Colman E. O'Neill, O.P., "The Mysteries of Christ and the Sacraments," *The Thomist*, 24 (1962), 1-53.

142. "La Théologie des Mystères," *Revue Thomiste*, 57 (1957), 541.

143. B. Neuheuser, O.S.B., "Mystery Presence," *Worship*, 34 (1960), 127.

144. *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, p. 99-100.

145. P. 43.

146. Pp. 45-6.

147. P. 93.

148. P. 125.

149. *Loc. cit.*

150. P. 26.

151. *Loc. cit.*

152. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

155. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

157. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

158. *Ibid.*, p.65.

159. P. 25.

160. *The Idea of the Holy*, p. 140.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

162. F. H. Brabant in his article, "Worship in General," in *Liturgy and Worship*, objects to Otto's maintaining that the rational attributes of God such as the one and the good are not mysterious. He says one can reach mystery by any road if one goes far enough (p. 18). It is not only the category of the holy that reaches to God. All categories end in mystery. Brabant wants to know how the category of the holy differs from the other human categories which start from faint human analogies and become mysterious as they become absolute.(p. 19). He denies that there is an independent category of the holy and says that the mysterious is experienced any time one passes from the relative to the absolute. All categories become mysterious when they become religious if regarded as divine. Holy is best applied to the category of goodness become religious, numinous to the aesthetic category, sublime, become religious, infinite (omniscence) to the category of truth become religious. But Brabant still does posit an underivable religious sense to raise the categories to the divine. He says:" the religious sense is unique and independent; only we maintain that it does not work through one category alone " (p. 22).

163. *The Idea of the Holy*, p. 143.

164. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

165. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

166. P. 72.

167. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.

168. *Loc. cit.*

169. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

170. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-41.

171. Brabant, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

172. P. 8.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

174. Brabant, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

175. *The Idea of the Holy*, p. 108.

176. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

177. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

178. Talley, op. cit., p. 34.

179. Worship in the Name of Jesus (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968), p. 170.

180. Ibid., p. 329, footnote 172.

181. Religious Essays, p. 52.

182. Walter M. Abbott, S.J., ed., The Documents of Vatican II (New York: Guild Press, 1966).

183. Cf. Virginia Mary Heffernan, Outlines of the Sixteen Documents Vatican II (New York: The America Press, 1965).

184. (Glen Rock, N.J: Paulist Press, 1964).

185. (Washington, D.C: National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1971).

186. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1970).

187. (Washington, D.C: United States Catholic Conference, 1967).

188. (Washington, D.C: United States Catholic Conference, 1967).

189. (Washington, D.C: National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1969).

190. (Washington, D.C: National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1969).

191. (Hales Corner, Wis: Priests of the Sacred Heart, 1970).

192. (Washington, D. C: Newsletter: Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, Jan/Feb 1968).

193. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1971).

194. There is a movement on the part of the American Bishops' liturgical committee to achieve authorization for liturgies especially constructed for children.

195. It is a common practice in many dioceses that all activity at the altar ceases during the collection and there is a pause in the liturgy.

196. New collects for the Roman Missal have been composed and are now being translated from Latin.

197. Many liturgists feel that the additional third reading on Sundays and feasts in the Roman Rite has made the liturgy of the Word too verbal.

198. Although the Constitution on the Liturgy seems to indicate that all the readings are done from the same lectern, in most Catholic parishes in the USA the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel takes place at different lecterns.

199. The trading of preachers is not an uncommon thing today.

200. The only place where free prayer is permitted in the present Roman Rite is in the prayers of intercession. It is expected that these prayers follow the theme of the liturgy.

201. Many Roman Catholic liturgists would like to place the kiss of peace earlier in the rite.

202. The trend among Roman Catholic liturgists seems to be to place the candles to the sides of the altar or on the credence table.

203. The evening Holy Thursday Eucharist is done in this spirit.

204. This has always been the tradition in the Roman Rite.

205. This has happened in the USA regarding the feasts of Epiphany and Corpus Christi.

206. Rarely are the collects sung in a Sung Mass these days.

207. In the USA there is no common Roman Catholic hymnal.

208. A capella singing by the congregation is still a goal of Roman Catholic musicians.

209. This is one of the major goals of those working with congregational liturgical music.

210. Although The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy certainly does not forbid statues or reredoses, the trend among contemporary Church architects is to omit the reredoses and diminish the number of statues.

211. While the crucifix is still popular in Roman Catholic circles, more use is made of the cross.

212. Church architects in general see the importance of a focal point in the Church building.

213. The use of vestments is traditional in the Roman Rite.

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